



Daily Report

East Europe

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Soviet, Polish, Bulgarian Trade Offices in ROK
SK0802074789 Seoul YONHAP in English
0731 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Seoul, Feb. 8 (YONHAP)—The Soviet Union, Poland and Bulgaria will open trade offices here next month, the Korea Trade Promotion Corp. (Kotra) announced Wednesday.

With the trade offices of Hungary and Yugoslavia already established here, it brings the number of communist countries with economic missions in South Korea to five.

South Korea and the Soviet Union will open trade offices in March in Moscow and Seoul under agreement between Yi Sun-ki, chairman of Kotra, and Vladislav Malkevich, chairman of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce, reached last December.

Kotra will send a large trade mission to Moscow in July to host a Korean goods fair to mark the opening of the Korean trade office in the Soviet capital.

Korea and Poland will also exchange trade offices in March, ahead of schedule. Under an agreement between Kotra and the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade last November, the two countries had planned to exchange trade offices in the first half of this year.

Kotra also plans to dispatch a trade mission to Poland to participate at the world exhibition slated for June 11 to 18 in Poznan and to host an opening ceremony of the Korean trade office in Warsaw.

Korea will exchange with Bulgaria trade offices in March ahead of schedule. The two countries originally planned to set up their trade offices in Seoul and Sofia in the first half of this year under the agreement between the Kotra and the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry last December.

The Kotra plans to send a trade mission to Bulgaria to take part in an international exhibition slated for May 8 to 14 in Plovdiv and to host the opening ceremony of the Korean trade office in Sofia.

Bloc International Department Officials Meet
AU0802200189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] A 2-day meeting of deputy heads of the International Departments of the Central Committees of the fraternal socialist countries' communist and workers parties took place in Sofia.

The meeting was opened by Comrade Dimitur Stanishev, who gave the introductory speech.

The creative discussion encompassed issues of the contemporary international situation, the reality created by the new political thinking, and attitudes toward resolving certain regional conflicts.

The participants in the meeting were received by Comrade Milko Balev, who briefed them on the topical tasks of restructuring all areas of our daily life. Special attention was paid to our country's constructive and peace-loving foreign policy in the Balkans, Europe, and the world.

Shortcomings in International Marketing Discussed
AU0302171189 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT
in Bulgarian 1 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Engineer Stoyu Kervanbashiev: "Anti-Showcase Trade Interest"]

[Excerpts] It has happened to each of us: At some time, one likes an item seen in a shop window, but does not find it in the store. This is how we, as amateurs who are not closely acquainted with the political economy, are dealing with one very important practical aspect of it, which we may call market science (or "marketing," according to the current fashion of Americanisms in our country). There is even more—we are touching upon economic-cultural problems which are still not sufficiently developed in our country, namely, the link between the economy and ethics. This is manifesting itself on the market precisely in the following simple, but basic principles:

Supplies determine demand, and not the other way around. Only a few people can imagine a commodity which they have not seen. The businessman must show and "explain" his goods; he represents both the publicity and the showcase. He also represents the "short feedback" between production and the commodity.

No publicity whatsoever is capable of selling worthless goods. People cannot be deceived for long into purchasing expensive and poor quality goods.

Preliminary publicity for goods which have not been supplied and are not finished is the worst damage that trade can inflict upon itself.

Such rules represent important norms on the international market wherever the standard of our goods is evaluated and where another factor begins to operate, namely, to win over the customer, rather than conclude a successful business deal. [passage omitted]

Real restructuring is under way, and it would be useful by all means to describe some of the existing shortcomings and point out certain established rules of international trade.

Shortcomings consist of the fact that the branch specification of our economy is not always accurately and ethically shown outside, because frequently novelties which have not been tested in practice, and incomplete ranges of products (with parts lacking or without service backup) are displayed at international fairs. It even happens that we display poor quality goods. Sometimes (and this is the worst!) we are represented abroad by "businessmen who 'have good connections,' or even speak foreign languages, but who have no technical conceptions, or the other way around. Thus, for example, several years ago a woman who spoke English but had not technical qualifications whatsoever was sent to an industrial exhibition in Scandinavia, and...she was in

an advanced state of pregnancy. Let us cite a more recent example. Bulgarian equipment with complicated electronic control devices and mechanisms was displayed in Singapore, but the delegation presenting it consisted of the secretary of the municipal party committee from a small industrial town and one technician. The electronic device, however, refused to function. This was presumably the revenge of the engineers who had "cast a spell" on the machine. A cable was sent to summon an electronics expert from Bulgaria to fix the electronic device, but the mechanism refused to operate. The fastest jet airliner to Singapore brought our mechanic, but unfortunately he arrived after the fair was closed, when even the last of those Japanese who were interested, and who had been amazed by these proceedings, had left.

The established rules of international trade say that a customer becomes permanent when he recognizes in his counterpart an experienced businessman, an attractive personality, whose skills are based on valuable tradition, on good manners, and on efficiency in establishing contacts and in negotiating, who is prompt in his correspondence and able to provide reliable and competent information about the goods he is selling. The customer is always in a better position, because he can purchase the same goods elsewhere. [passage omitted]

Going back to our initial subject, we can say: It is easy to prove that the combination of "general economic culture plus special knowledge" precisely combines the moral aspect (ethics) with the political economy, namely, the fundamental science about the "laws which govern production and the exchange of vitally important material assets in human society." (Marx, Engels, volume 20, page 148). This combination (this unity!) is capable of having a great economic and political effect on today's economic restructuring. The measures for the respective cadre selection have long since been developed in sociology. Unfortunately, we will not find them in any of our works on "marketing" (market science). This is why we will continue to write articles....

Duties on Personal Imports, Exports Noted
AU0302193489 Sofia BTA in English
1845 GMT 3 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 3 (BTA)—The Official Gazette runs in today's issue a decree on the customs control of the goods imported or exported by physical persons. For facilitation, the decree combines in a single document the four decrees acting until now of the former Ministry of Finances, which are repealed. The rules are made clear of the duties and obligations of both the customs officers as well as of all persons travelling abroad. The decree regulates the control on: the transferred goods and currency valuables, the international shipments, the import, export and transit of travel vehicles for the citizens, the transfer of ownership of imported or currency-bought cars.

According to the commentary of Mr Velislav Nozharov from the Mitnitsi (Customs) Directorate at the Ministry of Economy and Planning given in TRUD, a novelty in the decree is the order of customs control on international shipments. It is made more democratic by increasing from 10 to 100 leva the value of goods which can be exported duty-free from Bulgaria.

The document names 36 groups of goods which are banned for export, including through postal dispatch. In the import via international consignments the general order is valid, envisaged for the goods carried by the passengers. There are 22 types of goods for which a high duty is imposed, and for 20 of them it is 10 per cent of the average international price. For the remaining goods import is duty-free when they are in quantities corresponding to personal and family needs, and when there are no more than three objects of each kind. Thus, for instance, TV sets, refrigerators, radio-cassette recorders, photo cameras, cinecameras, etc., are imported duty-free. A 10 per cent duty is imposed on videos, musical equipment, electric musical instruments, metal processing and wood processing machines, gas cookers, etc. The gas installations for cars are imported after paying a 300 leva duty. [sentence as received] The import of medicines is largely facilitated, provided that they are in reasonable quantities. The export of medicines is restricted in the frames of the needs for a single course of treatment.

According to Mr V. Nozharov, the economic principles for regulation of the non-trade goods exchange of the citizens are prevailing in the new decree.

The goods prohibited for export and import are: firearms and blank weapons, military equipment, munitions, explosives, inflammables and poisonous substances, drugs and facilities for their use, endangering the state security, social order, the health and morality of the population. The export of two other groups of goods is prohibited: alimentary goods: meat and meat products, milk and dairy products, beans and lens, [as received] flour and semolina, sugar, oil and other vegetable oils, imported alimentary products and spices, including coffee, cocoa, children's foodstuffs, rice, red pepper, cereals and products thereof, sugar products and canned foods. Physical persons can export duty-free consumer goods (meat and dairy products, imported alimentary products and children's foods), needed at the time of their travel to the place of their destination. Twenty-three types of non-alimentary goods which are prohibited for export are also named, among which are clothes and shoes: babies' and children's, as well as all kinds of other shoes, cotton and woollen fabrics, bed sheets, pillow cases, blanket bags, real silk fabrics, blankets, knitwear, linings, bath-robos and towels, ladies' and men's ready-to-wears of woollen and mixed materials, wool and woollen yarns, natural leather and products thereof, etc. This does not refer to goods purchased in the country's specialized foreign currency shops or in other shops to the amount of

50 per cent of the leva equivalent of the convertible currency exchanged at the Bulgarian National Bank or in a tourist bureau. No duty is levied on the same goods.

Persons who are emigrating from Bulgaria and those who are leaving to work, study, etc., abroad can export the same goods to the amounts needed for their personal or family use.

Travellers can export duty-free: objects for their personal use, goods for consumption and objects for presents to the amount of 100 leva in retail prices in Bulgaria, including alcohol and tobacco products surpassing the amounts for personal use. Foreigners or Bulgarian citizens contracting a marriage, as well as their parents, brothers, sisters, uncles and aunts, grandmothers and grandfathers, can export duty-free only once wedding presents to the amount of 200 leva (retail prices in Bulgaria). Local citizens travelling abroad with their personal vehicles can export duty-free up to 40 litres of petrol or gas oil besides the quantity in their tanks.

Foreign persons who have worked here, who have been on specialization or have earned royalties for their work in Bulgaria are allowed to export duty-free objects for their personal or family use amounting to half of their remuneration after observing the above-mentioned prohibitions.

The decree facilitates the car import for this country's citizens. Cars from the socialist countries and their spare parts are imported duty-free. A 20 per cent duty is levied on cars imported from the other countries, paid in convertible currency. The customs levied value is determined on the basis of the engine working volume—10 leva per cubic centimetre. The transfer of that sum in convertible currency is done according to the customs course in the Bulgarian National Bank acting on the day of payment. In order to be able to handle the services of the imported cars, import of the following brands is allowed: Mercedes, Volkswagen, Volvo, Renault, Ford, Toyota, Nissan. There is no restriction concerning the import of cars from the socialist countries. But those cars, as well as the cars imported from the other countries, should not be older than 5 years from the date of production. The import of trucks (up to 3.5 tons load capacity), independent of the origin of their production, is levied with a 10 per cent duty which is paid in leva.

Solutions for Young People's Situation Offered
AU0702174789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 5 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Chavdar Cherkaski, teacher at the 118th Uniform Polytechnical Secondary School in Sofia: "The Less Attractive Side of Romanticism"]

[Excerpts] Statistics show that the criminal rate among young people has greatly increased in recent years. Therefore, it would be an inexcusable mistake to close our eyes to the symptoms of this "disease." [passage omitted]

Certain young people have gotten used to enjoying the benefits of society without giving anything back in return. This selfish and idle attitude is specifically reflected in plants and factories where former students, who are already specialists or workers, demand "labor credits" without really working.

We have discussed at length the necessity for a drastic change in the Komsomol organization. Nevertheless, this discussion did not produce any results whatsoever. Planning and accounting for activities, meetings, sessions, protocols, assignments, and instructions—all this results in stifling intellectual, creative, and individual initiative suppressed by routine. At an early age, privileged "aktivists" turn into lackeys and toadies, into selfish social climbers, with "connections." Naturally, they alienate themselves from the children's collectives. The young people, on the other hand, create their own leaders, since they refuse to accept the administratively established ones. Feeling "outcast," the informal leaders are looking for activities outside school, where things are more interesting and more romantic. It is well known that youthful energies and strivings for unusual adventure must find an outlet. Such an outlet exists. Informal groups are emerging quickly and spontaneously, because there is no hierarchy involved in these groups. This is where liberalism and democracy prevail, where one can engage in discussions and listen to music. Nevertheless, if alcohol consumption is involved, there is only one step to drugs....

The atmosphere which generates debauché among young people can also be caused by videos. The Bulgarian expression: "Let us go to watch videos" is very indicative, because people watch indiscriminately. Even cultured people do not select, let alone for children. Many of them come to school with video cassettes hidden under their sweaters or in their school bags. They exchange the cassettes, telling each other about the brutalities they have been watching with pride and enthusiasm. After school these select groups usually gather in an available, empty apartment, and in order to appear grown up, they have alcoholic drinks and cigarettes (usually imported ones).

Sexual intercourse is also involved, even the prostitution of 12-13 year old girls. Nevertheless, as shocking as the

behavior of these girls may seem, it is understandable, since there is no one to introduce them to the delicate problems of sexual relations.... [passage omitted]

It is high time we adopted serious measures for the education of the adolescent generation. It is a fact that paradoxes are accumulating in this respect. While the birth rate is stagnating on the one hand, children's establishments are overcrowded on the other hand. (It has even happened that children have gotten lost). There is a shortage of schools and teachers (this is why there are people who have chosen this profession by accident, instead of being devoted to it). Young people do not wish to become teachers; it is too difficult for them. Why should they be attracted to present-day schools, as a matter of fact, where the noise is ear-shattering, where school rooms and corridors are dirty and full of mud because cleaning personnel practically do not exist, and the children are obliged to take the brooms and do the cleaning themselves where the standards are low.

I would like to submit a few proposals which may seem drastic, but are extremely urgent, in my opinion:

Commissions for the struggle against antisocial manifestations should not only keep files on "difficult children," but also on their parents. In particularly hard cases of neglected or abandoned children, the parents should be fined.

Popular pedagogic universities should be established in residential districts and attached to schools.

The problem of the "base," namely of available premises, should be urgently resolved. We need children's establishments and schools with modern facilities for training, education, and recreation.

Parents whose children have failed to pass a grade should be obliged to pay the state for one additional school year.

The wages of school teachers with university degrees should be upgraded to those of university professors. (They have the same load of work and it is known that a badly trained secondary school student cannot become a good specialist). Thus, it will become possible to recruit a great number of talented people as secondary school teachers.

Explosion in Usti nad Labem 'Act of Terrorism'
LD0802181189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] An exceptional event occurred today in Usti nad Labem. Major Milan Marusak of the regional headquarters of public security in Usti nad Labem provides information:

[Begin Marusak recording] In the early hours there was an explosion in the atrium between the buildings of the North Bohemian Regional National Committee, and the national committee of the town of Usti nad Labem. No one was injured by this explosion but the material damage is considerable. For this reason measures were adopted for the speedy repair of the damage that occurred.

The causes of the explosion are being investigated by a group of specialists, but we can already say that it was an act of terrorism. We must not be confused by the fact that no one was injured. This was basically a lucky happening because even at night someone occasionally appears on the street, people who cross this area coming from night trains, at the very least. [end recording]

'Deliberate Criminal Act'

LD0802192689 Prague Television Service
in Czech 1830 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] The next video report has been filmed by our correspondent Jan Stuchlik at the site of an exceptional event:

[Stuchlik] Wednesday is also a normal working day for the North Bohemian Regional National Committee in Usti nad Labem. But no work has been carried out here today, and the employees of the regional national committees were not able to enter the building, either. And what was the reason? A powerful explosion was recorded at 0300 in the atrium between the regional national committee and the Usti nad Labem City National Committee. Not only these buildings were seriously damaged, but construction projects in the north Bohemian region and the Regional Design Institute also suffered serious damage. The shock wave also broke windows and shop windows in adjacent streets. The financial cost of the vast damage cannot yet be determined. Despite the high degree of danger to the inhabitants, fortunately nobody was injured.

[Announcer] Is it, in your opinion, possible to unequivocally exclude the possibility of this being an unhappy occurrence or an accident?

[Stuchlik] Based on the findings so far, which were obtained from the investigations at the scene of the incident, it is possible to absolutely and unequivocally exclude an accident. In this case what is at issue is a deliberate criminal act.

Hungary's Grosz To Visit in 'Next Few Days'
LD0802194389 Prague CTK in English
1605 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 8 (CTK)—General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Karoly Grosz will arrive for a working friendly visit to Czechoslovakia in the next few days.

The visit takes place at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

Adamec on Restructuring Process, Egyptian Ties
AU0102170589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
31 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Premier Ladislav Adamec by Has Fu'ad, deputy chief editor of the Egyptian daily AL-AHRAM: "Interview With the Daily AL-AHRAM; Premier Ladislav Adamec Answers Egyptian Journalist's Questions"; date, place not given]

[Text] Prague/Cairo (our correspondent)—As we have already reported, CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec recently received Hasan Fu'ad, deputy chief editor of the Egyptian daily AL-AHRAM (the Pyramids), and gave him an interview that was published on 30 January. The interview is as follows:

[Fu'ad] We all know that your government is preparing to restructure the Czechoslovak state. Would you be so kind as to inform us in greater detail about the political, social, and economic reasons that have prompted restructuring?

[Adamec] In 4 decades of constructing socialism, Czechoslovakia achieved many marked successes in our economic, social, and cultural development. We have a developed industry whose per capita production of many basic products is one of the world's highest. We have an extensive network of social organizations with which almost all citizens are affiliated. The citizens of our Republic enjoy free medical care and free education, the right to work, and social security.

We have built our home on firm foundations, but not everything in it is still up to the demands and capabilities of the present. Life does not stop; what only yesterday sufficed is no longer adequate today. I do not mean the quantitative aspect of the matter, but mainly the qualitative. Expanding production assets or greater consumption are not that important. The important thing, above all, is that these assets be used more efficiently, that the industrial base be modernized, and that the scientific-technical and human potential yields greater results. These are precisely the issues on which we are concentrating our restructuring efforts. We are convinced that we can do better. We want better than has been the case to date in utilizing the wealth of production experience, of education and democratization, to accelerate the pace of economic and social progress. Starting in 1990 we will

switch our economy over to a new economic mechanism, and we are already preparing a new constitution and already striving for new thinking in domestic and foreign policy.

[Fu'ad] How does Czechoslovakia—a country with two nations—tackle the issue of nationalities' oversensitivity, which has recently cropped up in some socialist states?

[Adamec] The CSSR is a state with two nations—the Czechs and the Slovaks—that have equal rights. We consider one of the greatest successes of CPCZ policy to be the fact that in the 1980's the social and economic standards of our nations became essentially identical. In the spirit of the constitutional principles of the Czechoslovak federation we combine central, statewide direction with the application of broad powers by the two national republics. We are creating a united Czechoslovak economy, and we are proceeding in that respect from the objective needs of the two republics; we are striving to make performance and effectiveness throughout the country equal. We are preparing a new program that is designed to eliminate unjustified differences in the creation and use of national income. We are paying great attention to developing friendly relations between regions and districts, expanding cultural cooperation, and to getting to know one another. We consider a principled, realistic, and frank solution to problems the basic instrument for forestalling phenomena concerning nationalities' oversensitivity. We strive for a rapprochement of nations, but we are not speeding up anything artificially, for we oppose administrative methods; we are building on socialist patriotism, and we are combating national exclusivity and the disregard for characteristic features of nationalities.

[Fu'ad] Much has been said about the "common European home." From the geographical point of view, Czechoslovakia is located in the heart of Europe. Do you have any initiative ready for both the present and the future which would support the concept of a "common European home?"

[Adamec] Due to its geographic location, old history, and interest in achieving the best possible good-neighborly relations, our country fully supports the idea of a "common European home." Therefore, we are striving to comprehensively contribute to the improvement of international life, the relaxation of tension, and the development of cooperation. CSSR representatives have recently submitted several important proposals in this spirit. Last February, Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, came forward with a new Czechoslovak initiative aimed at establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states. Our proposal met with support at the meeting of premiers of the neighboring countries—the GDR, the PPR, the USSR, the Hungarian People's Republic, the FRG, and Austria—the purpose of which

was to assess the possibility of cooperation in protecting the environment. In 1992, on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the birth of J.A. Comenius, the great pedagogue, teacher of nations, scientist, humanitarian, and social reformer, we will hold a great international conference with the theme "The Legacy of J.A. Comenius and the Education of Man for the 21st Century."

[Fu'ad] We have noted that the leaderships of some socialist states are striving to establish new political relations with their neighbors, with states under the capitalist system. Proceeding from your experience of the last 20 years of Czechoslovakia's development, what is your opinion of these trends?

[Adamec] We are convinced about the advantages and the future of the socialist social order. However, the fundamental ideological differences between socialism and capitalism do not prevent us from developing cooperation with countries that have a different social system. We believe that efforts for peaceful cooperation, common security, the solution of all disputes by political means, and for improving the environment and the life of all nations on our planet, are in the interest and for the benefit of all mankind. Our experience shows that not isolationism and economic autarky, but rather the broadest cooperation creates favorable conditions for scientific-technical and social progress. Therefore, in the spirit of the new thinking, we are in favor of the broadest possible establishment of economic, political, and cultural relations with all our neighbors.

[Fu'ad] In the past 10 years Egypt has been striving to renew its standing in international relations and to stabilize its economy. What, in your opinion, are the prospects for the further development of Egyptian-Czechoslovak relations?

[Adamec] My opinion is that the prospects for the development of Egyptian-Czechoslovak relations are favorable. There has to be a joint, bilateral effort to make use of these extensive opportunities. The restructuring of the economic mechanism that is underway, the planned structural changes in the economy, the permanent interest in joining the international division of labor, and our traditional policy of close cooperation with the developing countries create good prerequisites for this.

[Fu'ad] In what way could Czechoslovakia contribute to fulfilling Egypt's Second 5-Year Plan for economic development?

[Adamec] We see good prospects for Czechoslovak-Egyptian economic cooperation in the possibility of Czechoslovakia's participation in the realization of Egypt's development program within the framework of Egypt's Second 5-Year Plan. The Arab Republic of Egypt is traditionally an important trade partner of the CSSR, and Czechoslovak-Egyptian relations still have an

important place among the relations with the developing, and especially Arab, countries. We export metallurgical products, machinery and equipment, including complete plants, and import agricultural products, cotton, rice, and textiles. The 1984 agreement on economic credits has created prerequisites for cooperation in the economic sphere. We are prepared to continue delivering investment equipment, developing cooperation in various engineering spheres, in the production of compressors, diesel engines, and pumps, and equipment for grain mills and silos and for other purposes.

We are striving for higher forms of collaboration and production cooperation (joint ventures), for joint efforts on third markets. In this connection we are considering—after resolving some issues connected with the repayment of government credits granted earlier—the possibility of granting a new credit to the Arab Republic of Egypt for complete plants within the framework of its economic development program.

Charter 77, Prague Demonstrations Discussed *LD3101003589*

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1525 GMT on 30 January in its documentary program "In the News" reports on the "so-called Charter 77." The program is presented by editors Dagmar Cermakova and Jaroslav Sturma. The program's stated aim is "to explain the phenomena and events of the last few days in Prague, particularly the phenomena and events whose roots are so deep that we need to go back into the past."

The program begins by noting that a Czechoslovak public human rights committee "whose aim is to create a platform for discussion, dialogue, and mutual compromise, and thus help deal positively with those problems that our society needs to tackle," was set up on 10 December. The same day, it notes, an authorized demonstration took place in Skroupovo Square in Prague, "one that was also inspired by Human Rights Day." Then follows a brief recording of part of the statement made on that occasion by CSSR human rights activist Vaclav Havel, in which he noted that today more than ever, it is up to everyone in society to influence the way in which society develops:

"Can you see any difference between what Zbynek Vokrouhlicky [chairman of the official human rights committee], and Vaclav Havel, spokesman for the so-called Charter 77, say? It's hard to find, isn't it? But nonetheless, there is a difference. Each person's words are measured by his actions, the general nature of those actions, and the dimensions of history. In Czechoslovakia's case, this dimension is socialism, which is the most democratic social formation that has ever existed, and which is currently undergoing restructuring. This is the type of development meant by Zbynek Vokrouhlicky and the Czechoslovak Public Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, as well as by the

absolute majority of our citizens, but not by the antisocialist forces such as Vaclav Havel and Charter 77." "The first of these paths leads to the unification of different views, and the other to chaos—remember the difference."

The program recalls Charter 77's formation in 1977, "the most telling reason for which is that since August 1968, the people who rejected a system approved by the overwhelming majority of Czechoslovakians lived in Czechoslovak society." The Charter's opening statement placed responsibility for the "so-called violation of human rights and freedoms primarily on the political and state power. They justified their initiative by stating that everyone bore part of the blame, but they arrogated to themselves the right to rise above state power, to supervise state power, and to monitor compliance with human rights and freedom." At the outset, the Charter claimed that it was an informal, unorganized, and a political association of like-minded people, not a platform for political opposition, but rather one that aimed to serve the public interest. "But who was supposed to benefit, because from the very outset of the Charter's activities, the public did not show any great interest in it, and still does not, and it is not clear who, in particular, the Charter represents."

The program says that the claim that the Charter is not an organized group is refuted by the fact that it immediately appointed Jan Patocka, Vaclav Havel, and Jiri Hajek as spokesmen; and much more weighty proof of its organization is that "regular—meaning at least once every 2 months—payments arrive in the accounts of Charter members and organizers." In 1988, for example, 366,500 Tuzex crowns were sent from Sweden, and there were 138 recipients of such payments, recipients who belonged to a number of different "so-called independent groups". Among these recipients were Vlasta Chromostova, Vaclav Havel and his wife Olga, Rudolf Battěk, Marta Kubisova, and Jiri Hajek. The amounts received varied, according to the "merit and different activities" of those involved. These merits and different activities "...are assessed by various emigre agencies and 'philanthropic funds' in the West, behind which stands the CIA. This has been common knowledge for many, many years.... Those who receive such payments have to 'do a good job'; otherwise, they won't be on the next payroll. Here, of course, 'a good job' does not mean work for socialism, but rather the kind of work that required police intervention over the last few days in Prague."

There follows a recording of the Wenceslas Square demonstrations, including warnings through loudspeakers that the gathering was breaking the law. "One such event in which the police had to intervene was the abuse of the 20th anniversary of the senseless death of the student Jan Palach. In the past, this anniversary was not even marked by the Charter members. But, of course, on Saturday, 14 January, 35 foreign ministers from the Helsinki CSCE signatory countries had convened in Vienna, so the Charter members took the opportunity to

make themselves heard. In their view, this was the most opportune moment to play into the hands of certain ideological agencies and certain foreign ministers from the capitalist states who need more material with which to slander Czechoslovakia, to point out how undemocratic the regime in our country is, and, above all, to demonstrate that our government's signature on the Helsinki Final Act lacked credibility. Even the death of a manipulated young man was grist to their mill...."

At this point another recording is played of police at the Wenceslas Square demonstration pointing out that those who had gathered there were breaking the law. The presenters went on to explain "what kind of crimes might be involved here." They cited the crimes of incitement, under paragraph 100 of the penal code, "...for which a possible sentence is 6 months' imprisonment, or even as much as 5 years." Another possible crime committed came under paragraph 102, that of defaming the Republic or its representatives, "...for which crime a citizen can be sentenced up to 2 years' imprisonment." These penalties are well known, and the law applies to everyone.

The program focuses on "some of the organizers of the demonstrations that complicated the rhythm of life of Prague for several days in a row." It gives brief profiles of Vaclav Havel, Jiri Dienstbier and his wife Zuzana, Ladislav Lis, and Stanislav Devaty and his mother, Bozena Devata. It noted their expulsions from the CPCZ, convictions for dissident activities, and association with dissident groups. It describes in detail how Bozena Devata was permitted, following an appeal, to travel to Austria to visit her son Jiri, who lives there legally and, on her return at the Czechoslovak border, was caught by customs smuggling in "various ideologically subversive materials, antistate printed materials, and special black ink for an illegal, private computerized publishing operation together with the address in Prague to which they were to be delivered."

The program notes ideological and material support from the West, in addition to encouragement from "Radio Free Europe and other radio stations...." It says that former U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia William Luers wrote an article in an unspecified issue of "Foreign Affairs," on the United States and Eastern Europe in which he stressed that the United States had to "make significant changes in its policy to be properly prepared to influence events in the decade to come, as it had done in the past." It quotes the article thus: "Now we would like to focus on the most significant Warsaw Pact members, the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, and try to influence their policy. The United States should act more vigorously to arouse various nationalist instincts in those states."

The program notes that Charter 77 was in a difficult situation, because it was not winning the popular support it had expected. Material and financial support from abroad was not producing the demanded results,

and the Charter had even been warned about this from its backers abroad. It had no program because it had no direction; it was interested solely in reviving opposition, according to a former organizer of the group of committed nonparty members in 1968, Ivan Svitak. Svitak also criticized, in an emigre journal, the Charter for having no sense of direction, and stated that it either had to change into a democratic movement with a clear national and state program, or else withdraw itself as a complacent sect of morally superior gurus who despise politics and history.

"It would be shortsighted to end this program merely by condemning the recent provocations and their organizers and by dismissing the so-called Charter 77 as a trifle. The fact cannot be denied that the young people who were caught up in events as nothing more than curious onlookers are also our sons and daughters, citizens of the socialist state. Let us stop and think at home, in the schools, at work, and on the airwaves what led them to join the crowds that gave in to passions and manipulation. It could be impatience with the way in which economic problems are being tackled and the process of democratization. It could be a lack of political experience and political awareness that led them to confuse democracy with irresponsible chaos. Let us ask all of them, not in a crowd, but rather in a setting where serious and factual dialogue is possible, because some young people apparently are failing to get frank explanations. Therefore, we must realize that a broad, businesslike social dialogue is a vital component of our socialist democracy, in which misunderstandings can be explained, arguments can be refined, and conclusions can crystallize out of the collective experience, and in which we can unite our forces. Dialogue gives rise to the understanding that only activity in the right place produces success and respect. Attaining greater recognition for honest work and enhancing the social justice of socialist society are among the decisive goals of restructuring society."

Leaders' Public Appearances for 19-26 Jan AU2801162589

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague PRACE in Czech, Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 18 to 25 January report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, in the presence of Karel Hoffmann and Miroslav Zavadil, received ranking WFTU representatives in Prague on 23 January. (PRAVDA 24 Jan 89 p 1)

AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] Chairman Stepan Shalayev was received by Miroslav Zavadil, with Karel Hoffmann in attendance, in Prague on 23 January. (PRAVDA 24 Jan 89 p 1)

A consultation of the WFTU leadership, which began in Prague on 22 January, was attended, by among others, Karel Hoffmann and Miroslav Zavadil. (PRACE 23 Jan 89 p 1)

Jozef Lenart was present when Milos Jakes and 'Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP) Central Committee, held their final talks in Prague on 19 January. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jan 89 p 1)

Jozef Lenart was present when Gustav Husak received the visiting YSP delegation in Prague on 19 January. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jan 89 p 1)

Miroslav Stepan accompanied Milos Jakes and 'Ali Salim al-Bid during their visit to the Avia state enterprise in Prague-Letnany on 19 January. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jan 89 p 1)

Frantisek Hanus, Karel Hoffmann, Jozef Lenart, and Miroslav Stepan were among those who saw 'Ali Salim al-Bid off at Prague-Ruzyně Airport on 10 January. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jan 89 p 1)

Wlodzimerz Mokrzyzszak, the new Polish ambassador to the CSSR, was received by Ignac Janak and Ivan Knotek in Bratislava on 23 January. (PRAVDA 24 Jan 89 p 1)

Ignac Janak and Ivan Knotek met with Cuban Ambassador Mario Rodriguez Martinez in Bratislava on 24 January. (PRAVDA 25 Jan 89 p 1)

Frantisek Hanus attended a seminar on developments in informatics, which was presided over by Jozef Lenart, in Prague on 25 January. (RUDE PRAVO 26 Jan 89 p 2)

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, presented Meritorious Artist Donat Sajner with a letter from Milos Jakes, congratulating the artist on his 75th birthday. (PRAVDA 25 Jan 89 p 1)

Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received 'Izaddin Nasir, member of the Syrian Regional Command of the Ba'th Party, WFTU deputy chairman, and chairman of the General Federation of the Syrian Workers Trade Unions, in Prague on 23 January. (PRAVDA 24 Jan 89 p 1)

Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Genap Keskin, Turkish ambassador, in connection with the latter's taking up his post, in Prague on 25 January. (RUDE PRAVO 26 Jan 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received Jerzy Majka, chief editor of the Polish party daily TRYBUNA LUDU, in Bratislava on 23 January. (PRAVDA 24 Jan 89 p 1)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Slovak premier, received ranking representatives of Slovak nature conservationists in Bratislava on 19 January. He also received Zoltan Sido and Tibor Lukacs of the Csemadok Hungarian minority organization, in Bratislava on the same day. (RUDE PRAVO 20 Jan 89 p 2) He attended the opening of an exhibition of the works of National Artist Dezider Milly in Bratislava on 24 January. (PRAVDA 25 Jan 89 p 2) He also paid a visit to the facilities of Czechoslovak radio and the Chirana plant in Bratislava on 25 January. (RUDE PRAVO 26 Jan 89 p 2)

Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended the opening of an exhibition marking the 40th anniversary of CEMA's founding, in Prague on 23 January. (PRAVDA 24 Jan 89 p 1)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, presided over a meeting of leading secretaries of Prague borough committees in Prague on 23 January. (VECERNI PRAHA 24 Jan 89 p 1) He presided over a meeting of the Presidium of the Prague City Committee of the National Front the same day. (VECERNI PRAHA 24 Jan 89 p 2)

Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, returned to Prague on January 20 from a visit to the USSR. (RUDE PRAVO 21 Jan 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, received Djamsragin Dulma, Mongolian ambassador, in Prague on 19 January. (PRACE 20 Jan 89 p 1) He also attended and addressed the sixth session of the Czech Trade Union Council in Prague the same day. (PRACE 20 Jan 89 pp 1, 2)

Gorbachev Offers Thanks for Armenia Aid
LD0702133989 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1307 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Mikhail Gorbachev, in a letter to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, thanked the GDR for its friendly sympathy and fraternal assistance with the tragedy of the devastating earthquake in the Armenian SSR.

"When the disaster befell the Armenian people, our friends in the GDR shared our pain and sent the necessary goods—medicines, foodstuffs, clothes, and equipment," said the CPSU general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. "We are deeply grateful to them for the friendly assistance, the great moral support and the readiness to work with us in eliminating the consequences of the catastrophe."

"The blindly raging natural disaster deeply damaged Armenia. At the same time, however, a powerful wave of solidarity with our people was set in motion in all countries of the world. This was not only a demonstration of human sympathy, but also that the inhabitants of our world are becoming increasingly conscious of the common ground of their fate and are supporting the ideas of the new way of thinking," Mikhail Gorbachev said in the letter.

Krenz Delivers Speech at Party Aktiv Session
AU0702133889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 3 Feb 89 pp 3-4

["From the speech" by Politburo member Egon Krenz at the Berlin Bezirk Party Aktiv session in Berlin on 2 February: "1989 Local Elections: For a Strong Socialism, a Secure Peace, and a Favorable Development of the Towns and Villages"]

[Excerpts] Dear Comrades:

We are facing 3 months of intensive election campaign, a quarter of a year of joint efforts for the local elections on 7 May. All eligible Berliners are called upon to vote for the candidates of the National Front for the city district assemblies.

Our election movement is an election campaign because we want to convince all citizens that every vote is important for the goals of the election appeal: It is an expression in favor of a strong socialism, of preserving peace, and thus, of a secure common future. [passage omitted]

At the beginning of the year, the following was heard from the other German state—I quote: "Prosperity is produced in the FRG at an unprecedented rate; however, never before in the past 60 years has the discrepancy between those who live in abundance and those who do not have enough to support their mere existence been

greater." (Footnote three) (FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, quoted according to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of 4 January 1989, p 7) And I continue to quote: "Hidden or suppressed realities continue to exist. They catch up with everyone of us...at the latest when we grow old and sick. We all fall victim to the merciless mechanism of marginalization of the bare market laws—even though many people think that they belong to the few who manage to overcome this."

These were quotes from a bourgeois FRG newspaper. They show those in their true colors who are trying every day to accuse the GDR of a deficit of human rights. The question of who has a deficit of democracy and social security, of human warmth and solidarity answers itself. One need not explain any further the identity of those who become hypocrites if they call for human rights in other countries.

From 1982 to 1988, net profits in the FRG—and everyone knows whom they benefit there—rose by 89.5 percent, that is 13 times more than the workers' net wages. Nobody should be surprised when Ernst Breit, chairman of the German Trade Union Federation, notes that the old class questions have still not been solved in the FRG. Mass unemployment, social injustice, and poverty are in gross contradiction to the explosion of profits of the entrepreneurs and to the concentration of power in the hands of the business magnates, the German Trade Union Federation says. Over 140 years ago the Communist Manifesto said in this respect: The bourgeoisie has "not left any other bond between man and man than naked interests, than unfeeling 'cash payment'...."

No, such a society, in which a rich minority lives off the exploitation of a discriminated majority, where profit is put above human dignity, cannot be a humanistic ideal for us or for anybody. We have made our choice once and for all, and we will confirm it again on 7 May: Socialism on German soil!

Now More Than Ever—This Remains Topical in the Struggle for Peace

We live in a fast-moving time, but, nevertheless, everyone of us remembers autumn 1983. At that time—on the eve of the local election—Erich Honecker said at the seventh plenum of our party in view of the deployment of missiles: Now more than ever—everything for the strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace! This political farsightedness had a considerable influence on the development of the policy of dialogue. Today it belongs to the standard of international relations and put the first disarmament agreement—the one on the elimination of U.S. and USSR intermediate-range missiles—on its way. The GDR made its active contribution to this.

In the meantime, the world is affected by new peace initiatives of socialism. The unilateral withdrawal of Soviet troops—including that from GDR territory, which was decided in agreement with us—announced by

Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43 session of the UN General Assembly is being prepared. The people in the GDR and all over the world have reacted with comprehensive agreement to the GDR's decision, which was initiated by Comrade Erich Honecker, to reduce the troops and armaments of the National People's Army unilaterally and independent of negotiations.

With this bold step the GDR is making another constructive contribution to disarmament in the alliance with the other socialist states. We once more stress in this way how serious we are about never again having war start from German soil. In our country words and deeds concur.

In contrast to this, the FRG Government has approved the highest military budget in its 40-year history—DM53.5 billion—and has extended the period of compulsory military service. Its defense minister is against a third zero-option and in favor of keeping the nuclear potential "effective and up-to-date." NATO continues to stick to its strategy of nuclear deterrence. As leading military men said at the international military studies meeting over the weekend [28-29 January], it wants to push through its nuclear modernization program in Western Europe over the next few months. The Pentagon signals that it will modernize nuclear and conventional weapons systems.

Here, those forces are at work that do not want to make the world more secure but want to make the peoples uncertain. The world conscience is again called upon to set itself against this course that endangers peace. The constructive disarmament proposals of socialism offer motivating arguments for this. The people expect deeds that make the world more secure. Peace and security in Europe are a central issue of our policy. The GDR also worked in this spirit at the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting. Without its constructive participation, its readiness for compromise, and its mediation, this document with its mandate for negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe and the continuation of the conference on confidence-building measures and security would not have been possible.

With the comprehensive and detailed comparison of armed forces and armaments of the two military coalitions in Europe, which was presented in the statement of the committee of the Warsaw Pact defense ministers on Monday [6 February], everyone can form an objective picture of the facts of the historically developed military parity. With this the Warsaw Pact—in line with its global concept of peace—is making another contribution to confidence-building and to the start of conventional disarmament on a realistic basis. It becomes clear once again how firm our will is to continue the initiated disarmament process without any break.

Only in a state in which there is agreement between the government and the people concerning the basic interests is such a movement possible as it came alive in

thousands of Berlin work collectives under the slogan "My workplace—my combat station for peace!" It is one of the principles of our democracy that the preservation of peace is not only the responsibility of diplomats and government. Because this is the case, in our country workers, scientists, doctors, artists, and others, are highly honored for their dedication to peace and are not—as in other countries—turned into criminals in thousands of lawsuits.

We mobilize our fellow-citizens for a strong socialism so as to create a secure peace. However, as much as we hope for it and work for it, we protect ourselves against illusions. Every step on the long way toward a nuclear-free world—which is our ideal—must at present be wrested from the enemies of disarmament by means of a strong socialism and a worldwide alliance of reason. We would ignore the facts of history and of the present and become guilty in the eyes of the coming generations, if we were to forget this class truth.

No one can give facts and convincing arguments which nullify the truth laid down in the birth certificate of scientific socialism, namely that the story of all societies in history so far is a story of class struggles. Therefore, today the correct answers to the question that has developed in the struggle against exploitation and war has to be found: Whom does it serve—whom does it benefit? Defending our common achievements remains the duty of honor of every citizen. In our country he can fulfill it with the firm conviction that military service in socialism is permanent service for peace, and that we want to safeguard peace before weapons are used. Election decisions in the GDR are decisions for peace. Those who vote for the candidates of the National Front also decide in favor of the joint struggle for a secure world. [passage omitted]

Joachim Herrmann Receives CSSR's Jan Fojtik
*AU0702152189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 4-5 Feb 89 p 2*

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [3 February] experiences of the SED and the CPCZ in the further development of agitation and propaganda were the topics of a talk between Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Joachim Herrmann gave an overview of the ideopolitical work in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED congress in the 40th year of the GDR's existence. Jan Fojtik reported on the next tasks of the CPCZ in the field of political work among the masses. They discussed possibilities of the even closer cooperation of the press, radio, and television of both countries.

Participating in the meeting were Klaus Gaebler, member of the SED Central Committee and Central Committee department head; Dieter Langguth, deputy Central Committee department head; and Frantisek Langer, CSSR ambassador to the GDR.

Japanese Socialist Receives SED Delegation
*AU0702173089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 4-5 Feb 89 p 5*

[Text] Tokyo (ADN)—Takako Doi, chairman of the Japan Socialist Party, received an SED delegation headed by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member of the Central Committee and rector of the Academy for Social Sciences attached to the SED Central Committee, in Tokyo on Friday [3 February]. Prof Dr Reinhold conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, which were equally returned by Takako Doi.

During the talk, the Japanese politician suggested further developing the cooperation between the two parties, which has been very good so far.

FRG's Engholm on 'Informal' Talks With Honecker
*AU0802132389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 1 Feb 89 p 2*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After his meeting with Erich Honecker, Bjoern Engholm characterized the talks as very pleasant, very relaxed, and informal. He had met the secretary general only once before, during a short visit to Gymnich Palace when Erich Honecker was in Bonn. This trip is, so to speak, the first visit by the small neighbor Schleswig-Holstein to the bigger neighbor, the GDR. He is paying such first visits to all the neighbors around the Baltic Sea and, of course, to the GDR, he said.

The minister president pointed out that social democracy in Schleswig-Holstein has always been a trailblazer in the relations with the GDR. In the early sixties, when it was still highly unpopular in the FRG to hold talks with the other Germany, for example, to hold discussions with the FDJ, the Social Democrats, whom he supported while still a young socialist, established the first contacts and were sometimes threatened with being excluded from the SPD.

We continued this course from the early sixties onward, in good times, but especially in bad times, in order to facilitate steps toward normalization in the coexistence of the two German states. For me today's visit and the first talk which I held with the general secretary, Mr Honecker, and which will be continued during dinner this evening, means a qualitatively new step from the political point of view, Bjoern Engholm said. After the talk, he is able to state that we are moving toward a considerably improved climate in German-German relations. The overall climate raises many hopes for the future. We have to give up the too restricted nation-state policy of delimitation in accordance with the blocs and move toward a joint European, if you like, global policy, he stated. We have to put in order the joint European home, which does not stop at the Elbe, by joint solutions wherever this is possible.

Third Zero Option Would Increase Stability in Europe

Of course, the basic questions of security, arms and disarmament policy in Europe, and the responsibility of the two German states, which are very important trailblazers in the heart of Europe, have been dealt with during the talk. We have basically agreed, Bjoern Engholm said, that a new wave of arms buildup would in no way help us, even if it were to take place in the sector of short-range missiles under the catchword of modernization. On the other hand, a third zero option in this sector would increase confidence and stability in Europe. We have agreed that a 50-percent reduction of the United States' and the USSR's strategic offensive weapons could mean a qualitatively important step toward stabilizing peace in Europe and beyond. We have repeated what an SED-SPD working group laid down some time ago: A ban on chemical weapons is unrenounceable, and the establishment of a chemical-weapon-free zone in Europe is a decisive step on this course.

There has been agreement on the fact that all disarmament efforts in the nuclear and the conventional sector have to result in a structural inability to attack, he stated. General Secretary Honecker has explained the unilateral reduction measures and stressed that they are a decisive step toward the GDR Armed Forces' structural inability to attack. Minister President Engholm paid tribute to the fact that, as early as 1982-83 when there was a hot dispute about the deployment of medium-range missiles, Erich Honecker called for disarmament all the more. He was one of the few who said at that time, when we discussed rearmament, that this step is not right. It is part of the historical truth to state this here.

Many Concrete Things Discussed

Many concrete things that concern Schleswig-Holstein's relations with its neighbor, the GDR, have been discussed, he said. For example, the land capital Kiel will be included in the local border traffic in the future. Without reservation, the negotiations on the fishing rights in the Luebeck Bay can be held with the FRG. Thus, an old wish and an existential question for the fishermen is going to be positively settled, Engholm stated.

Other topics covered were cooperation in environmental protection, environmental technologies, and long-term deliveries between Schleswig-Holstein enterprises and the GDR, for example, the supply of machine tools. Engholm reported that GDR shipyard managers have been invited to Schleswig-Holstein in order to examine a cooperation of shipyards on both sides.

As regards the field of culture, he has proposed that the Schleswig-Holstein music festival will present some major performances in the GDR, especially the music festival orchestra in which the most talented young European musicians, among them GDR musicians, play together. In addition, he has also referred to the idea to organize a major cultural event under the catchword of

"ars baltica" in the years to come, where in a large cultural touring exhibition all the Baltic countries will show what the North has produced in the fields of history, language, literature, the visual arts, and philosophy. This idea has met with the general secretary's interest, Engholm stated.

Erich Honecker has promised to examine the proposal to establish central European experts' circles for important European development programs in order to find joint solutions to central challenges. Moreover, Minister President Engholm reported that he has expressed the wish for regular meetings between the heads of government of the two German states. General Secretary Honecker has explicitly confirmed that the considerable increase in travel, especially of GDR citizens who have not yet reached retirement age, will not be a passing phenomenon but has been given a stable basis by the decree which has been presented now. In accordance with this, a positive further development is to be expected.

Answering journalists' questions about a nuclear-weapon-free zone in central Europe, Engholm said that not only could it be a major step toward confidence-building but also toward concrete de-escalation. There is basic agreement on this assessment. Mr Honecker has once again explained in detail the unilateral disarmament measures which he plans to implement. We attached to it the hope—as a minister president I cannot do more—that NATO will react to it with great fantasy and flexibility and that the answer cannot be negative.

This step by the GDR, just like the previous solution regarding medium-range missiles, shows that disarmament steps, even if they include a partial advance concession, can definitely make peace more stable because they stabilize confidence on all sides. I am of the opinion that NATO should draw the respective conclusions. Bjoern Engholm stated that in the long run it is impossible to fail to see the Soviet Union's and the GDR's signals of good will.

Creating New European Normality

Questioned about the Elbe border, Engholm stated that his attitude has been clear for a long time. Since the Basic Treaty, there has been no discussion about almost 1,000 km of the border, only about 40 km of the Elbe border. It is really incomprehensible why this question should remain open, although there are international regulations that are neither harmful nor useful for the two sides, he said.

Engholm advocated the organization of a new European normality to which the Salzgitter Registration Office no longer corresponds. The Land of Schleswig-Holstein ceased to finance it—when the SPD obtained the majority there. In Engholm's opinion, Germany policy means organizing the peaceful and civil coexistence of the people on both sides of the border for a long period. It means the reduction of ideological confrontation, the

closing up of gulfs that still exist, and the mutual approach to joint solutions to questions that oppress us. I believe that in future Germany policy will mean putting the house in order on both sides, wherever this is possible.

Engholm Interviewed on FRG-GDR Relations

AU0702125089 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German
3 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Schleswig-Holstein Minister President Bjoern Engholm by Frank Mangelsdorf in East Berlin on 1 February: "Steps Toward Normalization"]

[Excerpts] DER MORGEN: You paid an informative visit to the GDR 3 years ago. What has changed in the relations between the two German states in the meantime?

Bjoern Engholm: As I have visited the GDR rather regularly for 25 years, I have noticed and registered many changes perhaps in a more intensive way than those who have only rarely been here.

I believe that many things have changed in the GDR. It has become more open, discussion has become more open. That is to say, there is increased vivacity, also as regards the readiness for discussions. Thus, I believe that a step toward normalization has been taken. There is no doubt that wishes remain unfulfilled. However, it is not my task to formulate them in front of the GDR. [passage omitted]

DER MORGEN: The result of the West Berlin election has caused alarm in many European countries. In what respect do you share this alarm?

Bjoern Engholm: I share it in two respects: The growth of a party which is falsely entitled "Republican" does not improve our image all over the world. [passage omitted]

The second risk that I perceive is that the conservative parties in the FRG will, of course, ask themselves what the fact that such a large number of people are gathering on the right fringe even in a party of their own, means for them. I hope that the CDU and the CSU will not now use some of the arguments of this new, extreme-right party to get regain votes. [passage omitted]

DER MORGEN: In your talk with Erich Honecker, you also discussed the third-zero option. In your opinion, what resistance has to be overcome in the FRG to implement this initiative?

Bjoern Engholm: The chancellor and his party have to get round to it. If they manage to do so, there will be another "small" problem, that is, the Americans, who are of a different opinion. However, I believe that the Europeans could hold their own against the Americans in this respect.

I consider the problem in a very commonplace way. If short-range nuclear missiles are to be modernized, one will ask oneself where they are to be used if something really happens. They will be used where I am living. Short-range missiles are weapons which affect only us. Therefore, they are the thing that should be eliminated first!

DER MORGEN: Are there any possibilities for the individual Laender to influence this issue?

Bjoern Engholm: In fact, only in political processes and with words. For example, as regards certain NATO maneuvers, we, as a Land, participate to the lowest possible degree. In this way we want to demonstrate that we cannot accept certain scenarios of military strategy. For this is where the nuclear attack will ultimately take place. I do not want to participate in such affairs. We cannot do more. However, what we are doing is very important.

Commentary Accuses Bonn of 'Pan-German' Attitude
AU0702180189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 6 Feb 89 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "Bags Full of Illusions"]

[Text] The greatest economic power in Western Europe is preparing for new expansions. The future West European market is intended to ensure more even more political and thus also political influence for the FRG within the EC. The propaganda campaign, which is being launched vigorously, however, has caused confusion within the chancellor's party. The CDU/CSU's rank and file are asking the leadership how increasing integration with the West can be reconciled with the "unsettled German question."

This is indeed a justified concern. However, an answer to this question was already given 4 decades ago to Adenauer's grandchildren—by the grandfather himself. He completed the division that existed since the end of the war by officially founding the FRG as the chancellor of the allies, in accordance with the principle "Better half of Germany in its entirety than all of half of Germany." With the proclamation of the FRG and its entry into NATO, Adenauer finally drew the border which became the dividing line between the two German states, between two opposed military alliances. With the creation of the FRG, the Western occupying powers and their chancellor resolved the German question 4 decades ago according to their wishes and against the people's will. The plan to subsequently bring about another forceful Pan-Germanic solution by marching through the Brandenburg Gate with fifes and drums failed, as is well known.

However, this did not prevent Adenauer's sons and grandchildren from continuing to talk about the "unsettled German question." Kohl has now linked the

assertion that a West European federal state offers the chance to "complete the unity and freedom of Germany" with the appeal not to decrease "defense efforts."

Those advocating Pan-Germanism seem to gather fresh hope again. Minister Wilms has confirmed this in her own way. As a precautionary measure she had plastic bags made, which, besides the minister's address and the Federal Eagle, carry the following landmarks: Goethe, Frederik II, the Kyffhaeuser Mountain and Frauenkirche Cathedral in Munich, the Semper Opera in Dresden and the Cologne Cathedral, the Reichstag in Berlin (West), Bremen's Roland [historic monument], and—because Bonn's Pan-German-European illusions seem to stop nowhere, not even at the Oder and Neisse—the Crane Gate [Krantor] in Gdansk.

What is the use of such slogans that are against all reason, and of the pertaining bags? After 40 years, the truth should finally be told in Bonn about who completed the division, why this was done, and what are the consequences. And the corresponding lesson should finally be drawn.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on FRG 'Provocation'
LD0802092289 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0244 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today's issue of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND describes the FRG firm MBB's participation in the process of building nuclear missiles together with Pershing producers Martin Marietta in the United States for the Bonn Defense Ministry as a "provocation against disarmament negotiations."

Three things are alarming: First, the timing. While the GDR and its allies are making prior concessions for the negotiations, which begin in March between the two pact systems, on conventional forces by unilateral disarmament moves, the exact opposite is being done in the FRG. Second, the first-strike nature of the KOLAS missiles. They are clearly an offensive weapons system, suitable for waging a war of attack. That also emerges from the statement that thereby a state could "conventionally deter." While the socialist states are aiming for mutual nonattack capability, the other side is doing everything to raise its own capability for aggression.

Third, the possibility of carrying both conventional and nuclear warheads on the KOLAS missiles. While the GDR has from the start demanded that the devilry had to go, it is now to reappear in the FRG. The enemies of disarmament are trying to give the FRG the right of disposal over nuclear weapons. The range of the KOLAS missiles, just under 500 km, makes them in practical terms an instrument for hollowing out the INF agreement.

"Here we have a provocation against the Vienna disarmament talks. We are confronted with further proof of the enthusiastic efforts of the most reactionary and aggressive forces of imperialism to once more set the

arms race in motion," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND comments. It has to be stated without any illusions: Whoever intends to build KOLAS missiles and fighters in the nineties and modernize "LANCE" missiles is not interested in the success of the disarmament negotiations whether on strategic offensive weapons, conventional forces, or chemical weapons.

The conclusion from this evidence is clear, the paper sums up: "Everything has to be done to thwart the dangerous plans of the military-industrial complex and to clear the path for real disarmament."

Clergyman Reports Bugging Devices in Apartment
AU0702111789 Paris AFP in English
1111 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Berlin, Feb 7 (AFP)—A Protestant minister active in East Germany's independent peace movement said on Tuesday that he had found bugging devices hidden in his apartment here.

Rainer Eppelmann, pastor of East Berlin's Good Samaritan Church, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that church officials had protested to local authorities and started legal action in a bid to open an investigation into the affair.

Representatives of the public prosecutor came to his apartment on Tuesday to inspect sites where the minister and his colleagues recently found the bugs, he said.

Reverend Eppelmann in 1982 co-authored "Appeal from Berlin", calling for disarmament and a withdrawal of "all troops from Germany". He is also sought out for advice by people in trouble with the authorities.

The minister said he found the first bug by chance in December while trying to repair an electric plug. It consisted of a mini-transmitter, amplifier and antenna concealed behind the plug.

Experts who examined the device alleged it was made with equipment manufactured by two West German firms, he said. They described it as antiquated and linked to a site near his office.

Rev. Eppelmann said he found two microphones, one in a lamp and one in his radio, while searching the apartment with friends late last month.

The affair follows a worsening of relations between the church and the East German leadership last year.

Grosz To Visit USSR 'Second Half' of March
LD0702190989 Budapest MTI in English
1826 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 7 (MTI)—Under a previous agreement, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is to leave for Moscow during the second half of March to hold negotiations with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

Kadar Speech on 1956 'Insurrection' Published
AU0702141689 Paris AFP in English
1355 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Budapest, Feb 7 (AFP)—A speech in which former Communist Party chief Janos Kadar called the 1956 Hungarian uprising a "popular insurrection" appeared Tuesday in the weekly OTLET amid an ongoing public debate over that period in the nation's history.

Official documents have described the October 23 uprising as a "counter-revolution".

Mr. Kadar, in a speech November 1, 1956, said the movement was a "popular insurrection" containing "threats of a counter-revolution". He also bitterly criticized Matyas Rakosi, the dictator whose harsh regime sparked the revolt and whom he afterwards replaced as party chief. [passage omitted]

Pozsgay Remarks on 1956 Events Examined
LD0402233289 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 4 Feb 89

[From the "168 Hours" program; discussion with Ivan T. Berend, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, by program editor Akos Mester; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Mester] I cannot be far away from the truth if I say that in the past 30 years nothing has given rise to so much debate at home and abroad concerning developments in Hungary as did Imre Pozsgay's statement of 1 week ago. [passage omitted]

Our editorial staff has decided in this situation, instead of commentaries, personal explanations, or the analysis and evaluation of what happened, to present the facts. That is why we sought out Ivan T. Berend, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, for it is he who heads the historical subcommittee that was formed with the mandate of the Central Committee, and whose mandate extends to the historical analysis of the past 4 decades. [passage omitted] Ivan T. Berend begins this somewhat longer than usual interview by listing the newly revealed facts, or the new connections and conclusions.

[Berend] Already in the evaluation of the turnabout of 1947-48 and in the interpretation and characterization of the fifties, with an extremely long-range analysis, we

changed many things in the earlier evaluations, without having to reckon with the emergence of radically new materials here; in their essence those were already known.

In the period between 1953 and 1956 the change of judgement is considerable, and the evaluation of 1956, which has not come to the focus of the debates, also belongs to these movements. Here I would allude to the fact that in recent years an extremely simplified evaluation has taken root, one rather of an agitative nature and not one based on scientific requirement. In the earlier period there were evaluations that were much more nuanced, sensitive, and which stood closer to the complexity of historical processes. Let me refer to this, because this is not at all known, and we have taken this into account now as well: Erich Molnar produced a study in February 1957 with the title "National Democratic Uprising or Bourgeois Counterrevolution?" The answer he gave to the question was, in essence, that this cannot be answered by either-or, but only by both-one-and-the-other; this is because these forces, phenomena, and processes appeared in an intertwined, mingled manner.

So, virtually anew, afresh, so to speak, in the very midst of the historical processes, I might say, such a nuanced evaluation came into being, and Gyorgy Lukacs not much later also approached these issues in a different way. So, if I might say so, the MSZMP's intelligentsia and social science researchers had already 30 years ago produced many things on this, things now worth taking into account. To say nothing of issues such as the fact that things that at that time, through a given pair of ideological glasses, produced a certain kind of judgement, in light of today's ideas and conceptions, look different. For example, the fact that someone accepts the renunciation of the one-party system and the transition to the multiparty system; this in those years, 30 years ago, or even 20 years ago, exhausted the category of betrayal and revisionism. In light of our current conception, this is naturally given a different interpretation.

Well, with this I only wanted to indicate that the facts and sources that have been known and that have been available have also provided ample possibilities for the formulation of interpretations that are believed to be new today.

[Mester] Which, according to this, were not so new at one time.

[Berend] These were debate issues that they were milling around; the judgements were more nuanced, for even that certain white book that presented the, well, those lynchings, etc., that took place in the 1956 days, that white book, in several volumes, even that bore the title, if I have it right, "Counterrevolutionary Forces in the October 1956 Events." In other words, that such forces were involved it as well. Now, we also took this stand, that as a matter of fact, and in this our interpretation considerably diverges from an earlier one, at the time of a Hungarian Stalinism, if you like, a Rakosi regime,

incapable of renewing itself—and we are analyzing the causes of why it was incapable—therefore, in spite of the agnoies, battles, struggles, and efforts for renewal between 1953 and 1956, this conservative leadership, the Rakosi-Gero-Hegedus type of leadership, prevented the possibility of renewal. Because it prevented this, and mainly the March 1955 turnabout, when they managed to exclude from politics Imre Nagy, who was the leader of the party opposition and who was the representative of the reform line, the conservative leadership with this act gambled away the possibility of renewal, and swept the country into an elemental social explosion, into the uprising [felkeles] of the autumn of 1956, at the start of which the leading motives were the intentions and endeavors aimed precisely at the renewal of socialism.

Here we also see that from the very 1st minute the most varied endeavors, intentions, and forces were also present in addition to the one I mentioned above. So, for example, restoration forces were also present—the restoration forces of the previous regime, the Horthy regime, which had fallen barely 10 years before—possibly in a modernized form, that is to say in the form of a Western bourgeois social system. There were also—and these are nuances—the interests striving to restore the people's democratic system of the period between 1945-48. I would not shirk from using the epithet "socialist" or "of a socialist nature" for these interests. On the other hand, also present were totally conservative, what is more, right-wing, or even extreme right-wing forces. And one has to say, of course, that those groups were also becoming ever stronger; they were striving also for a bloody showdown with the ruling Communist Party—in other words, for reprisal, revenge. As always in such events, lumpen elements also got mixed up in these events. And well, the 1st week was not exactly the same as the first days of November, when Laszlo Nemeth himself in a newspaper article had already drawn attention to the danger of a repetition of the White terror.

So, there was a certain trend in the processes, but essentially the mingling of these trends was present to the finish, in spite of the trend to the right. There was no way for any type of solution to be definitively consolidated in one or another of the forces or directions. On 4 November, as a matter of fact, this problem and this issue were already concluded with this, with the second Soviet intervention. [sentence as heard]

But in the beginning it was an elemental indignation that broke out against the Rakosi system, or against the fifties, the system likewise represented by Gero, when broad masses of an offended, humiliated people took part in this—actively or as supporters—in the cities, in Budapest, and in the factories as well. Because it was truly a question of a people really hurting in terms of living standards, living conditions, human rights, and their human dignity as well.

We also show—and again this refers to the sources—how the 4 November intervention came about. In his memoirs, Khrushchev speaks in relatively more detail about

this. Since then, Soviet sources have established that these memoirs essentially are correct—in other words, that they can be relied on. We also made use of them. Earlier, this was not available, either. So, in the latest account, on this point, for example, some details about the Soviet decisionmaking mechanism have also come to the surface. But in this historical analysis, the examination and evaluation of those 3 decades is particularly important—which we may call the Kadar era, as a matter of fact.

Because we show that, as a matter of fact, the new MSZMP led by Janos Kadar, amidst the new conditions—which of course determined the framework and possibilities for action—in the last resort also represented a kind of continuity of the reform line of the party opposition. For, Janos Kadar and his closest colleagues themselves belonged to this party opposition, this reform line which was forming between 1953-56. They joined it after they were released from prison. I believe that up until the spring of 1956 there were no differences within the party opposition. If there were any later, then perhaps the chief difference consisted of Janos Kadar, Ferenc Munnich, and others wishing to realize the reforms through more forceful party discipline and unity, on the basis of internal decisions and stances; and they did not want to take things to the point of a break with the older, more conservative leadership within the party. They tried to achieve this turnabout within that framework, while the Imre Nagy group, which was totally excluded from power, from the leadership, already from the spring of 1956 was willing to take the debate outside the party, to take it out onto the streets, if you like. And this difference of method was perhaps the most important in this period. But they were able to travel together.

[Mester] Many consider it not to be a difference of method. Instead, they say that the wing within the party was a new kind of Stalinism, the second attack of Stalinism, one that took on a new face with new, more refined methods.

[Berend] No, I do not share this view. Well, the facts do not point to this either. This is because this party opposition was able to advance together even in October 1956. Together they founded the MSZMP. Well, one must not forget this. And they stayed together until practically the end of October. It was in the first days of November that the paths of the party and government group led by Imre Nagy and of the very narrow party opposition led by Janos Kadar divided—when this latter group was no longer able, did not want to follow what was taking place either in relations with the Soviet Union or in the internal processes. And, well, that is how the change of leadership came about, as a matter of fact.

It was later, and mainly after the period of very severe reprisals, from the beginning of the sixties, between 1960 and 1962, that the policy really unfolded in which the group—which was now forming into a party leadership,

and in a certain sense into a center—tried to realize, from the reform line, that which was possible amid the new conditions. It was able to do quite a lot of things. In agrarian policy, with the economic reform, it was structured just the same—let us use this expression here—as a matter of fact, it was a post-Stalinist structure that was maintained, or that the system of institutions, the political structures, even the system of economic institutions, as a matter of fact, remained totally as they were before. The power structure was monolithic, with the exercise of power practically by one person; the structure of property relations was monolithic. So, everything remains unchanged with regard to the structures. Within this, this policy uses power if you like, with its people's party tendency and its efforts for enlightened absolutism, and does not abuse it.

The given frameworks, because the frameworks are solid and strict, and as a matter of fact after 4 November—4 November meant that in a whole era there had to be an adjustment in the main tendencies to the Soviet structures and political line, and this was precisely the Brezhnev era, discounting the first few years, which is today described in the Soviet Union as the era of stagnation, which weighed very heavily on Hungarian policy. It narrowed down its scope extremely—the big changes took place despite the narrow frameworks. Of course, because it took place within this structure, the whole process has a paternalistic nature. So, it is the power that gives all this to the population, be it a question of living standards or passports, be it a question of permitting the multifariousness of artistic trends, or be it the question of the freedom of research. Because giving within rigid frameworks is paternalistic, it can thus be withdrawn. This makes the process fragile, uncertain, fluctuating, and in the seventies, there indeed occurred an unfavorable and bad turnabout.

Now, this is already the period of the development of the crisis. At least, this is how we interpret it in this study, in the last report. For it was a policy that turned against the reform; it made the ideology, the policy rigid again. It strengthened their post-Stalinist nature, and in addition it did this in a period that is marked by the transformations of the world economy on a historic scale, by the unfolding of an international economic structural crisis, and to which the reaction, for this reason, was especially unfavorable. This increasingly carried over from the economic crisis to the sphere of society and politics and led to the forceful demand for change, both within society and the party.

As a matter of fact, this document closes with the discussion of the antecedents of the May 1988 party conference, of the party conference itself, and of its direct effects.

[Mester] In terms of the great interest in connection with 1956, was it demonstrable in this analysis of the past 30 years that the relatively unprocessed nature of 1956 might have constituted any kind of burden in Kadarite policy?

[Berend] What we are talking about in this work is that when the policy was truly successful, [word indistinct] the sixties, there was a kind of unspoken agreement, consensus, between the population and authority, a kind of winking at one another. The adult generations accepted that there were taboos that could not be touched on; it was better not to touch on them, and it was not good to put the government in a difficult situation, because the government was a people's party and did what it could to help the population, and it did very much. For a long time, no one in Hungary harped on this.

It has to be said that over a decade, let us say between 1958 and 1968, neither did opposition groupings appear in Hungary. It was in 1968 that opposition groups presented themselves, or let me put it that they presented themselves in an external, critical manner, and this was in connection with the intervention in Czechoslovakia, not in connection with Hungarian internal affairs.

At the end of the seventies problems such as poverty began to come to the fore; the official government did not want to mention this, and it denied it. Any talk of poverty became—I put this in quotes—"an opposition topic." Thus, the information that one-fifth of the population lives (?on) the poverty-line comes now as a surprise to the population. It was the same then, as well, only it was a nonexistent fact; the statistics office did not publicly have minimum subsistence calculations, and the things that were covered up began to surface in the 2d half of the seventies and ever increasingly in the eighties. The problem of 1956 reemerged, and the problem of the person of Imre Nagy and his assessment also reemerged. The questions that were swept under the carpet, the nationalities problems that had been lurking in social conversation, problems that obviously existed, also reemerged.

There was a kind of social schizophrenia regarding what one could publicly talk about and what was private opinion, or regarding what could be told to children and what should not be said to them—at least in school. For 10 years this caused no problems. Then, slowly, in the past 10 years, it caused growing problems, together with a sharpening of the crisis situation, and it also exacerbated this.

[Mester] My suspicion is that the way in which the judgement of 1956 appeared in 1957-58 became impoverished, was narrowed down and polarized, and was described, in a word, as counterrevolution, in parallel with how the crisis strengthened in the post-1956 decades.

[Berend] Perhaps that is too brief. This simplification appears as if it might have developed and taken shape earlier; the more nuanced approach immediately faded away, not long after the end of the fifties.

[Mester] How will the committee continue its work? Here is where you stand now. You have made these statements, and, as you have said, you have discussed them twice. You have also said that an expanded version is being prepared with the participation of several researchers. Will there again be a debate on this, and will it be narrow and professional? What publicity will it have? What will the next steps be?

[Berend] First, I ought to mention that we do not view the current version as the final one, and not only because a more detailed one is being prepared. We do not consider the shorter one to be final because the analysis of external connections, connections involving foreign relations and other detailed issues of social policy, requires further work. However, in the second debate last Friday, the committee was of the view that the work was at a stage of readiness allowing it to be released for further public debate. In a special issue, TARSADALMI SZEMLE will release this version, as it is, for debate. Thus, the social debate will begin on this, and afterwards, we will finalize this work, and then the Central Committee, with its own mechanism, hopes to eventually submit it to the 14th congress, together with the new program statement. This analysis is like a kind of diagnosis; its purpose is to serve and lay down the foundations for therapy. Thus, the main consequences of the historical analysis must be given a place in the program statement.

'Passionate' Reaction to Pozsgay Remarks Noted
LD0402221089

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungary at 1500 GMT on 4 February in the "168 Hours" program, presented by editor Akos Mester, broadcasts a report on the program's editorial policy concerning listeners' letters, which are not quoted verbatim. Mester explains that some of the letters are unbelievably passionate in tone and would incite further passions.

He says: "Last week, for example, we broadcast an interview in which Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Politburo, fully disclosed—because it would be fully disclosed—the conclusions reached to date by the committee that is critically disclosing the history of the last 40 years, without concealing the fact that we do not yet have a definitive answer to all our questions and that, presumably, further facts will be uncovered that will expose more nuances of the critical period of Hungarian modern history.

"In our program last week we also broadcast an interview with National Assembly Deputy Sandor Barcs. We wanted to know how he, the so-called lay assessor of the Rajk trial and one of the signers of Laszlo Rajk's death sentence, today judges what happened at that time, and how he views his own role and responsibility. I think it is indisputable that both topics are of public interest. To remain silent about them now is nigh near impossible.

"But we get letters, telephone calls, the indescribable voices, the vulgar expression of primitive political passions, and it is very difficult to know how to respond to them. If we were to quote verbatim the observations and reactions of this type that we have received, then the delicate balance built on the program's editorial principle would be upset. It would be pushed toward extremes, from which we continue to wish to refrain, be they of the left or the right.

"The maintenance of the delicate balance, I think, is now particularly important, because I see that there are those who would like to confuse a pluralism of views with day-to-day confrontation. Such people do not strive for agreement or compromise. Instead of acceptable debates and solutions based on possible compromises, they seek first a verbal rumpus, then threats with looks and swords, and head-on spiritual clashes in which no blows are spared, which obviously have no other consequence than to bring on instruments that stand outside of politics and which would destroy the fragile balance not only of a program but of a country. This would vanquish even the remnant of hope for a peaceful unfolding of events."

What we need now, Mester concludes, is three things: facts, arguments, and patience. We need to be tolerant of each other's views and we must listen, he says.

Timetable for Soviet Troop Withdrawal Drawn Up
LD0802215589 Budapest MTI in English
1907 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 8 (MTI)—The timetable for withdrawing some of the units belonging to the Soviet Southern Army Group, temporarily stationed in Hungary, has recently been drawn up, and talks on the future of the evacuated facilities, a number of which are definitely to be converted for civilian use, are already under way.

In Szombathely, about 6,000 flats are to be constructed on the area of a 25-hectare garrison.

In Győr-Sopron County, the population is involved in the decision-making. Proposals have been made for using the buildings as tourist accommodation and shopping centres.

An historic building complex in Esztergom, which has been a military hospital since 1945, is to be returned to the Roman Catholic Church, its original owner.

The Soviet troops are to evacuate Godollo's 200-year-old Grassalkovich Castle as well. The local council and AMB, a French construction company, are carrying out a feasibility study for the utilization of this unique Baroque chateau. Reconstruction would cost about 2,000 million forints. A joint venture between foreign and Hungarian firms is to be set up for the purpose.

At Tokol, the proposals of the locals are to be forwarded to the Soviet command for consideration. The military health establishment there is to be converted into an old people's home, and some flats handed over to young couples.

Imre Szokai on Worsening Romanian Relations
AU0702142689 Budapest NEPSZAVA
in Hungarian 28 Jan 89 p 6

[Interview with Imre Szokai, deputy head of the International Relations Department of the MSZMP Central Committee, by Imre Krajczar: "Hungarian-Romanian Relations: There Is No Alternative to Negotiations—Interview With Imre Szokai"; date, place not given]

[Text] The deterioration in Hungarian-Romanian relations, which are otherwise far from being orderly and adequate, has accelerated. The leadership in Bucharest has a very peculiar way of implementing the obligations it has taken upon itself, and this is true of bilateral agreements, memoranda, and protocols, as well as obligations accepted before a wide international public. This deterioration did not slow even after the Arad summit of 1988; on the contrary, new alarming events have taken place since that summit. Bucharest's actions since then have aimed at breaking up rather than improving our relations. Prior to the Arad summit, there was another bilateral summit held in Debrecen and Nagyvarad 11 years ago, where the two sides signed the often mentioned 21-point memorandum on further developing "the friendly relations between the two parties and the two neighboring socialist countries."

We spoke about the state of Hungarian-Romanian relations and the content and importance of the Debrecen-Nagyvarad agreement with Imre Szokai, who participated in several sets of Hungarian-Romanian talks and who was also present at the Arad summit and at the summit held in Debrecen and Nagyvarad 11 years ago.

[Krajczar] How do we evaluate the Debrecen-Nagyvarad meeting today, more than a decade after it took place? What has been implemented from the agreements signed there?

[Szokai] Almost every word and every sentence of this extremely laconic document are still topical today. At various levels of negotiations, we keep reminding our Romanian partners with determined consistency that we are still waiting for the implementation of the steps we jointly agreed upon at that summit 11 years ago. In Debrecen and Nagyvarad, both sides fully agreed that we should continue the regular meetings between our party and state leaders and that we should broaden the relations between our party institutions. At the time, both sides displayed a willingness to support the direct contacts between the two governments, the two parliaments, and the social and mass organizations of the two countries. The two sides assessed developing all forms of bilateral tourism as desirable. The two sides agreed on jointly cherishing the

progressive and revolutionary traditions and values that bound the two peoples together, and on marking and maintaining our memorials. Great emphasis was laid on increasing the quality and quantity of our economic, technical, scientific, and water affairs relations. The two sides decided to open a Hungarian Cultural House in Bucharest and a Romanian Cultural House in Budapest as early as 1978, and to make further efforts to jointly better disseminate the two nations' contemporary literature and to increase the exchange of professional and amateur artistic groups. The two sides deemed it necessary to consider the requirements of national minorities in cultural and educational relations, and in information. The two sides set out the goal of improving cooperation between their radio, television, and press and to develop their mutual import of books and publications. The two sides agreed on opening general consulates and in working out a new border-area traffic agreement, as well as on the need to open a new border-crossing point (at Csengersima-Petea). The two sides agreed to hold further negotiations on modernizing the agreement on legal assistance and on signing an agreement marking the mutual recognition of school diplomas.

[Krajczar] Thus, the document contains specific tasks, and in an unequivocal way. What really happened?

[Szokai] In the spirit of these decisions, the Hungarian party and government urged the competent Hungarian bodies and institutions to initiate progress in all areas of contacts on the basis of mutual interests. We succeeded in achieving some results in some areas at the start. For example, the contacts between the state and social bodies of the two countries became more regular, but, as a result of the Romanian attitude, these contacts became increasingly formal. The Romanian side focused its attention on demonstrating the smoothness of our cooperation, but they did not show any willingness to solve real problems. Our exchange of goods also increased but the proportion of the turnover of goods based on specialization and cooperation continued to be low.

Let us formulate it clearly: The implementation of jointly decided goals came to a standstill soon after the 1977 summit. Ever since, our relations have been constantly worsening and our cooperation has made little progress or has even clearly ceased in several areas. Everyone on both sides can see this, although we did not speak openly about this before. In a speech at a meeting of the National Council of Working People held 1 year ago, the Romanian head of state said that Romania's relations with the socialist countries were developing positively, with the exception of Hungary. I can say with a clear conscience that we are not at all responsible for this.

[Krajczar] What does the Hungarian side do in order to be able to say with a clear conscience that we are not responsible for this state of affairs, and that things developed as they did not because of our policy?

[Szokai] On every occasion, we stress the importance of implementing the signed agreements and we try to achieve a favorable turn in our relations by coming up with increasingly new proposals. This is true of almost every bilateral negotiation, no matter at what level it was or is held. Our diplomats, representatives, and leading politicians are sparing no efforts in trying to draw the attention of the Romanian side to the fact that the Romanian policy, Romania's human rights practice, its steps aimed at limiting the assertion of national minority rights, and its attitude of constantly reducing the sphere of contacts only increase tension in this part of Europe and damage the whole of Hungarian-Romanian relations. At the summit held in August 1988, we firmly repeated our views concerning the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania, and almost the entire program package of the Debrecen-Nagyvarad talks, by supplementing it with additional proposals. The Romanian side promised to study these proposals, and also promised to give us answers. Unfortunately, however, in their answer, they included only two economic issues, but continued their baseless accusations. Bucharest continues to blame Hungary for the justified foreign criticism of its foreign policy and thinks that it is possible to improve relations only if Hungary changes its attitude.

[Krajczar] What does the Romanian leadership object to?

[Szokai] First of all, they object to the Hungarian mass media practices. In their opinion, the Hungarian press is full of anti-Romanian, nationalistic, chauvinistic, and irredentist articles. It seems that we are trying in vain to explain to them that the Hungarian press is basically different from the Romanian press, and that we have abandoned the practice of the fifties. We cannot, nor do we want to change this for the benefit of any foreign power. They also blame the Hungarian policy for providing a scope and opportunities for anti-Romanian actions, and for actually taking an active part in such actions. They consider the protests in Budapest to be such actions. The well-founded Hungarian criticism of the Romanian policy concerning the national minorities and of the Romanian village systematization program (more plainly, their village destruction program), as well as the Hungarian historians' criticism of the official Romanian view of history also elicit Romanian protests coupled with accusations.

In any case, we are for improving the relations between the Hungarian and Romanian peoples. However, we must also point out that we cannot disregard any anti-democratic attitude, the rude violations of the Hungarians' national feelings, and the ordeals of the Hungarian minority living in Romania.

[Krajczar] What should we do? What possibilities do we have? What can we do?

[Szokai] It is in the interest of the entire Hungarian nation that the Hungarians who are living beyond our borders should remain in their homelands and be able to exercise their equal individual and collective rights, as loyal citizens of their country and proudly display their Hungarian nationality, and should be able to maintain contacts with their mother nation without any limitations. Therefore, we do not want to encourage these people to resettle. At the same time, however, it is the moral responsibility of Hungarian policy to deal with the affairs of people who do not wish to return to Romania.

I would like to stress here that we noticed this phenomenon on time. Considering our unsuccessful efforts aimed at jointly settling the issue and the fact that we are unable to eliminate the causes behind this flow of refugees without the cooperation of the Romanian side, a political decision was made in 1987 according to which we would accept these people on the basis of our responsibility as their mother nation. We were also determined to create the legal framework necessary for accepting and resettling these refugees in Hungary.

As a first step, the Council of Ministers established an interministerial coordination committee to deal with these people's affairs, and the Parliament approved a resettlement fund of 300 million forints. In its first meetings, the interministerial coordination committee dealt with the conditions under which we could join the Geneva Convention on Refugees and officially contact the UN Office of the High Commissioner on Refugees, and how these steps could contribute to solving the refugee problem. Reviewing our possibilities, the various churches and social organizations in Hungary, like the Red Cross, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and even the Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary, found ways of acting for the benefit of these refugees. The general readiness for help in Hungary proves that our practical policy is correct and is in harmony with the public's expectations.

The overwhelming majority of Hungarian society have proven their political maturity and, in addition to displaying sympathy, they have provided specific help to these refugees. At the same time, I would like to point out that unfounded accusations made by profiteers who follow selfish interests and do not consider the real long-term interests of the Hungarian minority in Romania will definitely not help this cause. It is alarming that our positions and international prestige developed over the course of many years could be endangered by the bragging of people who only live for the moment.

Openness and honest information are extremely important in foreign policy too. However, time and discretion are also required for successful diplomatic activity and this is valid all over the world. Facts then are published, but only when they contribute to the cause.

Of course, in addition to good political intentions, mistakes can also happen in the activity of the Hungarian Government bodies too. No doubt, we could deal with the refugees' affairs more quickly and carefully. However, I am convinced that the occasional mistakes do not justify anyone who feels responsibility for the fate of the Hungarian minority in Romania to harm the common cause of the Hungarian nation.

[Krajczar] According to our experience, a considerable part of our public follow with antipathy the unilateral Hungarian readiness for negotiations. Many people openly ask whether there is any sense in negotiating when the Romanian leadership consistently refuses to accept international obligations and unilaterally cancels and invalidates agreements. It also happened that a Romanian representative had declared in advance that his country would not adhere to all aspects of a treaty to be signed later. This practice elicited general shock and strong criticism at the Vienna CSCE follow-up conference.

[Szokai] The question should not be put "whether there is any sense in negotiating"? but, rather, what else can we do, if not negotiate? I am convinced that we should not exclude any opportunity or any forum from our arsenal. Of course, taking specific steps requires careful consideration in which there is no place for elements of momentary mood and personal ambitions. We think that we should not only negotiate, but, since we have nothing to hide, we should also inform the public in detail and most honestly on these negotiations, on our bilateral relations, including our past relations. The acceptance of openness, this policy of openness, and the subsequent control of the public opinion help and strengthen our positions both at home and abroad. However, this is not a panacea, and one cannot expect immediate results from it.

Investigation on Romanian Border Events Closed
AU0802193289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 4 Feb 89 p 4

[Report by Lajos Bodnar: "Chief Prosecutor's Investigation Concluded—There Is a Refugee Problem, But Bodies Were Not Found"]

[Text] At a news conference on 3 February, Deputy Chief Prosecutor Sandor Nyiri briefed the press on the results of an investigation carried out in the wake of a letter published by the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF] concerning the events taking place along the Hungarian-Romanian border.

As we have already reported, the local HDF branch in Gyula sent a letter to National Assembly Chairman Istvan Stadinger in which it listed demands connected with Romanian refugees. The letter also contained several allegations that seemed to be facts. Among other things, in referring to Interior Ministry sources, the letter also contained allegations that 18 bodies, all of whom had suffered gunshot wounds, were found along the

border. MAGYAR NEMZET published the full text of this letter in its 9 January issue, together with the supplement provided by the HDF Provisional Presidium. NEPSZABADSAG also carried a great deal of information about the affair, and we also informed our readers that the chief prosecutor's office had begun an investigation.

This investigation has now been concluded, and it has come to the definite conclusion that the aforementioned allegations by the Gyula branch of the HDF are not true. Neither the border police nor any other Interior Ministry body have organized any operation aimed at discovering the alleged bodies, and no one has made such a confession. In view of these facts, this statement proved to be completely unfounded.

During the investigation, the local branch of the HDF refused to name the informers, even to confirm the allegations. The chief prosecutor's office investigated 64 persons, including Romanian refugees, border police, people living near the border, and physicians who are working in the area. The office reviewed the special death cases registered in the area in 1988, a total of 1,200 such cases. Documents concerning border violations were also examined. The chief prosecutor's office refutes these allegations on the basis of this broad investigation.

The allegations that 50 percent of refugees were turned back by the responsible authorities also proved to be false. A total of 6,490 persons crossed the border illegally in 1988, and 1,652 persons were turned back, meaning a figure of 25 percent. According to the investigation, the case of the small girl who was stabbed to death, if there were such a case, did not take place on Hungarian territory.

The detailed investigation did not cover the justification of the political demands included in the letter in question. (We can add, however, that Hungarian Government bodies have recently made considerable efforts to resolve the refugee problem.) Discovering the circumstances on the basis of which, in accordance with Interior Ministry regulations, decisions are made today on granting temporary Hungarian residency permits, was also not part of this investigation.

The investigation concluded that the letter written and published by the Gyula branch of the HDF could not be considered a criminal act of spreading disquieting rumors because the circumstances do not point to a deliberate intention of upsetting the public.

Also present at the news conference was Istvan Csurka, member of the HDF Provisional Presidium. Istvan Csurka told the press that he was the one who had sent the letter in question to MAGYAR NEMZET. He expressed thanks for the investigation which he termed as correct.

Thus, the investigation did not succeed in revealing the source of the information, although this is a condition for any criminal procedure. However, the lesson to be drawn is quite obvious: Although the Hungarian press can currently feature different opinions, this does not mean that all the facts published in the press do not need careful supervision. If it is sensitive about its prestige, the press should not disseminate unfounded rumors, even if it wishes to use this freedom to hold different opinions.

'Alternative' Organizations Debate Strike Law

LD0602163389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] Alternative political and social organizations have expressed their views concerning the strike law being considered. They were meeting at the Kossuth Club [in Budapest]. These views—to put it mildly—differ from those of the persons who are preparing the bill. Peter Marvanyi reports:

[Marvanyi] Pal Forgach, president of the TDDSZ [Democratic Trade Unions of Scientific Workers], expressed the stand of all those present when he said: We oppose a strike law not because we want to go on strike, but precisely the opposite; the proscriptions of the draft bill are unsuitable for preventing strikes, for they place an obstacle in the way of agreement and compromise solutions.

Even the first paragraph of the strike law already contradicts the most important international trade union document in its attempt to limit the right to strike within the confines of the framework of employment. It is also in our economic interest to work out solutions based on agreement instead of the proscribing paragraphs.

Pal Forgach also noted that the largest U.S. trade union federation, the AFL-CIO, which is capable of torpedoing any capital investment in Hungary, has made its attitude conditional on further reforms. In other words, if this bill comes into effect, it is not certain that foreign trade unions, which so far have made no complaints about investments here, complaints that are not in the interest of improving their own employment and wage situations, would continue to think in this way.

The TUDOSZ [National Trade Union of Scientific Workers], which operates within the framework of the SZOT [National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions], also agrees with the declaration. Their representative pointed out that the presence of (?strong) trade unions was in the interest of the entire country, because they alone—as equal negotiating partners—were able to prevent economic problems from being resolved along the path of least resistance and with this, the further increase of social tensions.

The person authorized to speak for the Alliance of Free Democrats called attention to the fact that the draft bill on the right to strike is built on mistrust and, furthermore, on the fears of political power. While fears actually bring

about the ghost, the strike law can provoke strikes. Therefore, instead of the strike law, the Alliance proposes legal and institutional changes, the parliamentary supervision of economic processes and distribution, an interest coordination system extending all over the country, and the establishment of civil law and economic codes.

As for the history of the stands taken by these organizations, the signatories sent a letter last week to the government in which they expounded their views and proposed negotiations with individual members of the government. So far, they have received no reply. The preparation of the strike law obviously demands an open social debate, whereas the practice of the ABMH [State Wage and Labor Office] of publishing the paragraphs of the draft in the newspapers and asking that the views of private individuals or organizations be sent in is not a public social debate, many stated. The signatories maintain their offer to negotiate, they intend to contact deputies and National Assembly standing committees, and with the assistance of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] or other organizations, they would like to organize real social debates in the month remaining until parliament makes a decision.

[Announcer] The ILO secretary general and the ICFTU chief have expressed support for the proposals in a telegram.

Size of Social Allowances Increased

AU0802141189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 30 Jan 89 p 9

[Text] The amount of regular monthly social allowances paid to people under 70 years of age who do not have a pension or next of kin obliged to provide for them was increased by 360 forints and is set at 3,140 forints. People over 70 will receive 3,500 forints from the local councils this year. The maximum amount paid as a special allowance is also 3,140 forints and 3,500 forints, respectively. People in need will be able to make use of these special allowances six times a year, Dr Maria Foldi, deputy head of the Health and Social Policy Department of the municipal council, told MTI reporters.

The local councils made preparations for the increase in the number of people who will need help, and local council workers, neighbors, and social activists will also repeatedly initiate such allowances. Some 2,950 people received regular social allowances in Budapest in 1988, and special allowances were paid to elderly people on 135,000 occasions. According to preliminary analyses, the number of people who need regular social allowances will exceed 3,000 this year, and special allowances will be paid in more than 150,000 cases. Several people receive food deliveries free of charge or at reduced prices; their number will increase to over 8,000. The local councils will also have to increase social assistance for needy people in their homes. So far, 12,500 elderly Budapest inhabitants have received assistance free of charge, and this year their number is expected to increase to over 14,000. Because of this, the local councils intend to increase the number of social workers in their jurisdiction and to improve their work by undergoing supplementary training.

Further Reportage, Commentary on Roundtable

Economic-Social Team Meets

LD0802232289 Warsaw PAP in English
2238 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—Deputy government spokesman Zbyslaw Rykowski told PAP that the team for economy and social policy, appointed at the inaugural round table debate met on Wednesday under co-chairmanship of Wladyslaw Baka and Witold Trzeciakowski.

The meeting, in which 40 persons took part, accompanied by advisors and experts, was opened by Wladyslaw Baka, who emphasized that the desired changes in the socio-economic system require mobilization of all social forces as well as social acceptance and support for the reforms.

Baka discussed chief aims and ideas of the plan for consolidation of national economy, giving prominence to elements which require a consensus of forces represented at the round table. We are—Baka said—open to the search for the best and most efficient solutions, to all alternative proposals which are more promising. Our sole aim is to reach settlements and decisions which would be good for Poland, which would provide conditions conducive to joint work.

Baka proposed the mode of the teams work saying that the team should proceed from the key issues to more detailed matters. He also proposed the structure of sub-teams motioning that the list agreed upon at the round table should be expanded by a sub-team for prices and indexation of pays and social benefits and a sub-team for indebtedness.

Witold Trzeciakowski proposed that the detailed agenda be worked out at another session of the team. The work of the team for economy is strongly related to the events which will occur at the oncoming sessions of teams for political issues and for trade unions, said he.

Witold Trzeciakowski and other representatives of independent circles, including Solidarity, delivered six speeches presenting chief problems and proposals, concerning: the directions and conditions of basic changes, the principles and proposals related to the new systemic order in Poland, the questions of the protection of society, the problems of economic policy, the assessment of to-date policy of the government and the issues which should be solved by the team.

Witold Trzeciakowski underlined that the basis of new order in economy should be a demonopolized market, principles of free economic activity, the freedom to associate enabling citizens to represent their economic interests, pluralistic structure of ownership and broad rights for workers self-managements.

The other five speeches were delivered by Jan Muzjel, Andrzej Wielowieyski together with Jan Rosner, Cezary Jozefiak, Janusz Beksiak and Ryszard Bugaj.

The speeches were followed by discussion in which the floor was taken by: Jan Kaczmarek, Kazimierz Olesiak, Stanislaw Dlugosz, Grzegorz Kolodko, Wacław Martyniuk, Marcin Świeciki Mieczysław Wilczek, Antoni Rajkiewicz, Gabriel Janowski, Maciej Manicki, Ryszard Gorycki, Andrzej Stelmachowski, Wladyslaw Szymanski, Leon Podkaminer and Andrzej Olechowski.

Another session of the team was proposed for Monday, Feb. 13.

Team Discusses Repaying Debt

LD0802233789 Warsaw PAP in English
2211 GMT 8 Feb 89

[By Stanislaw Filipczak]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—We are open to all proposals aimed to upgrade proposals of our solutions, deputy government spokesman Zbyslaw Rykowski said today, presenting the course of work of the round table's economic sub-team to Polish and foreign journalists. However, the government could not wait for the introduction of some solutions till the inauguration of the round tables, Rykowski added.

The round table is not a disarmament conference, Rykowski also said, commenting on a proposal submitted during the debates to seek savings as a result of cutting budgetary outlays on the military-repressive sector and the administration. Everybody knows the direction of military reductions in Poland, Rykowski continued, and further steps in this area will depend on the international situation.

Rykowski said also that a special sub-group was set up to work out consensus on the re-payment of Poland's foreign debts.

"Minister Wilczek's radicalism is universally known and that is why nobody should be surprised by the fact that he spoke in a style different than, for instance, Professor Baka. After all, the government side does not operate according to any uniform instruction eliminating variety, said Rykowski answering one of the questions.

Asked next to present the stand taken at the debates by the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) Rykowski said that this side said that it would not join any pact that would force working people to tighten their belts. The OPZZ does not agree either with the opinion that it must be worse now so that it could be better in the future, as working people cannot bear the expenses of the present situation.

Summing up, I assess today's debates as interesting and promising, Rykowski said.

OPZZ Members Comment

LD0902020389 Warsaw PAP in English
2337 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—Following the session of the team for economy and social policy, members of the team: OPZZ Deputy Chairman Wacław Martyniuk and OPZZ expert Leon Podkaminer met with newsmen at a conference organized by OPZZ Spokesman Franciszek Ciemny.

Martyniuk made a statement on the course of the debates, saying that according to OPZZ representatives participating in the talks, the meeting resembled rather an economic colloquium than a discussion on the crucial problems of workers. A major part of the discussed issues was related to large-scale economy. Lacking was a discussion on the things which should be done now and in near future in order to improve the market supply and to give people hope that things will improve, at least a little bit.

Asked whether the debaters agreed with the thesis of the OPZZ which says that economy can be reformed without tightening of the belt, Martyniuk said that this issue was not a leitmotif of any of the speeches. Each of the sides seemed to present their vision of the economic changes, while all the sides agreed that the things cannot go on in this way and that radical reforms are needed.

However, it is commonly known that "the details are the very devil," and we shall only enter into these details at the sessions of the working teams, Martyniuk commented, and added that although it was not stated clearly, many speeches mentioned that the condition for any kind of changes is not the lowering of the living standard but its gradual improvement.

Leon Podkaminer added that many speeches seemed to reveal the knowledge about the stands that the OPZZ took previously. "We left today's session under the impression that the sides participating in this debate are somehow full of doubt and even inconsistent," said he.

Asked to comment on a Tuesday's statement by Onyszkiewicz who explained that an alliance (OPZZ's proposal to make a trade union alliance of workers) would be currently an unthinkable, but an inadmissible one, Martyniuk said that the statement seems to refer to Miodowicz's Monday statement that there must exist a uniform front of workers.

Answering PAP reporters question Martyniuk said that some debaters referred to the current strikes in Poland. For example, Grzegorz Kolodko, talking about social expectations said that a ghost of Belchatow floats over this debate. "We may reach an agreement at this table, but social expectations may be totally different and society may choose another way," said he.

Solidarity Spokesman on Meeting

LD0802234189 Warsaw PAP in English
2306 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—"The strike in Belchatow has not affected the debates of the working team for economy and social policy," Janusz Onyszkiewicz, spokesman for Solidarity and representatives of independent milieux at the round table, told newsmen today. He was accompanied at a press conference by Prof. Witold Trzeciakowski, who co-chairs the team's debates, and other participants representing independent groups.

"The necessity of market demonopolization, depriving the economic management system of political character, reduction of spending on defence and security and a proposal to set up a provisional body, an economic coordinating council, are some of the postulates forwarded during the debates," said Trzeciakowski.

He stated that the number one economic problem was the political problem which will be decided by other teams. "Aims are convergent but differences arise from the fact that we state that economic decisions should be controlled by society," he continued.

"In reply to the proposal to reduce spending on the Army, police and security forces, Minister Mieczysław Wilczek was said to answer during the debates that even if the spending in question was reduced by 20 percent, thereby achieved sums would be small. The government is taking steps to fight inflation but they are ineffective," he stated.

"Solidarity and independent groups propose a system of index-linked pays. Pays, an increase in them is not the most important source of inflation: Central bodies lavishly spend money that is produced without coverage," Trzeciakowski concluded.

"We will not get out of the crisis without social support and this will not be achieved without Solidarity," said Onyszkiewicz. He added that binding should be the rule that participation in making economic decision and co-responsibility should match each other.

"As concerns the place of self-management in enterprises, our stand is close to the one taken by a part of the government side: We regard it as necessary to return to the law on self-managements of 1981. Also significant is the issue of liquidation of nomenclature in manning posts in the economy," Trzeciakowski added.

Solidarity Adviser Interviewed

PM0802121289 Paris LIBERATION in French
6 Feb 89 pp 17-18

[Interview with Solidarity adviser Bronisław Geremek by Pierre Vodnik in Warsaw—date not given]

[Text] LIBERATION: Nine years after the August 1980 agreements, does Solidarity intend to renegotiate legal status at the roundtable or does it intend to reach a new social agreement which would end the 13 December war?

Bronislaw Geremek: The situation was critical in August 1980, but the Poles had great hopes. They are now in despair. From an economic viewpoint, the 7 years which have passed since 13 December 1981 have been totally wasted years for Poland. The past 2 years have also been totally wasted from a political viewpoint. The present open approach ought to have happened at the end of 1986. But the government was afraid of society. Has it now realized that nothing can be done in Poland without Solidarity?

Neither the pressure of the recent strikes nor the pressure of economic requirements is enough to explain the party's opening up. For the first time in 7 years, the Polish authorities have shown political imagination. Solidarity and the whole Polish opposition must now also show imagination.

This is not obvious, because Solidarity is not chasing legalization. The trade union is illegal, but it is doing well. Its moral authority has never been as great. As an illegal organization, it provides a focus for social discontent. Its moral capital will increase further in the coming months, because the social and economic situation is still deteriorating.

So, why did they agree to the roundtable? It is because the country's welfare makes it necessary to do so urgently. You have to make desperate decisions in a desperate situation.

LIBERATION: If Solidarity does not attach too much importance to its legalization, what price will it agree to pay?

Bronislaw Geremek: A price which has limits. Above all, it will have to pay a political price. The government would like to reach an electoral agreement with Solidarity for the May 1989 parliamentary elections. That will be the most delicate point in the negotiations, because Solidarity has always advocated the principle of political freedom, and hence has always advocated free elections.

LIBERATION: That is a principle which seems impossible in Poland....

Bronislaw Geremek: From the authorities' viewpoint. The government thinks that free elections would lead to the political destabilization of the regime. But there may be possibilities. A democratic electoral law would have to be adopted which would temporarily fix limits for one election, paving the way for the system's full democratization.

According to Solidarity, two basic principles must be retained right from the start: freedom to nominate candidates and freedom to choose between different candidates. This means that Solidarity will refuse to be part of the government coalition, with a joint platform or joint electoral lists.

LIBERATION: Do you envisage the possibility of Solidarity putting forward some of its leaders as election candidates?

Bronislaw Geremek: No. A trade union should not put forward its own candidates. It should seek other solutions. And we will find them at the roundtable. We must achieve a market in the economic sphere and freedom in public life.

LIBERATION: What other prices will have to be paid?

Bronislaw Geremek: They will probably not be very high for the trade union itself. We think that the government has learned the 1980 lesson: Solidarity was forged in its first battles, when it had to wrest everything from the government by force or strikes. To ensure that history is not repeated, the conditions for Solidarity's relegalization must be reasonable. Relegalization ought to be immediate and not introduced in stages.

There is then the problem of the regional structures which are banned by law. Solidarity still exists (illegally—LIBERATION editor's note) in these regional structures and will not be able to abandon them. However, the trade union will develop industrial structures, as the law stipulates.

LIBERATION: If there is immediate legalization, how long will it take for Solidarity to become a mass movement again?

Bronislaw Geremek: Solidarity is already being revived on a big scale. But I think that the trade union could very quickly become a "mass" movement again, perhaps not in a "landslide" as in 1980, but very quickly.

LIBERATION: Will it take 2 or 3 months, or more?

Bronislaw Geremek: Some 2 or 3 months should suffice for Solidarity to organize itself throughout the country. It will take a year to organize a congress. The essential thing is for it to take off in the enterprises. There are already around 600 committees in the factories. Another 15 or 20 committees are created every day.

LIBERATION: What about the social price?

Bronislaw Geremek: It will be a consensus between a short-term program and a future program. In the short term, Solidarity will have to pay a price. The economic reforms will lead to the closure of unprofitable enterprises, and the movement of labor. Solidarity will only be able to accept that if there is a prospect of fundamental structural changes in the economy, especially a real return to the market and freeing the economy from the political monopoly.

However, this consensus cannot be reached at the expense of the population's living standard. All the reserves that lie in the unproductive part of the budget, in bad management and waste, must be used.

LIBERATION: To what extent could Solidarity forget that it is a trade union?

Bronislaw Geremek: Solidarity cannot abandon the right to strike. It is one of the main rights of the trade union and of the workers. It is a natural right. However, Solidarity says that strikes are not in the country's interests, that mechanisms must be created that will make it possible to solve conflicts in a different way. At all events, a legal ban on strikes would only have the opposite effect. All the strikes would be spontaneous, much more difficult to control, and a settlement much more difficult to negotiate.

LIBERATION: Does this mean that Solidarity will support the economic reforms provided it obtains important guarantees of democratization for the future?

Bronislaw Geremek: Precisely! Solidarity will be able to accept sacrifices, but only on that condition. Solidarity thinks that a far-reaching reform of the state is vital. The essential thing is to rebuild parliamentary democracy, the independence of the courts, the democratization of local government, regional self-management, and access to the media which is entirely monopolized by the government.

LIBERATION: Are you optimistic about the roundtable's success?

Bronislaw Geremek: I am not sure that negotiations will give the results we want. The roundtable is one of the most difficult points in the Poland's entire postwar history. It is more difficult than August 1980. And I do not rule out failure. We must find an honest compromise. Does the government want that? It seems that it does. But it also has problems. Will it succeed in finding its feet in this new situation, in finding a place in a new and more democratic system? It will be a party without its leadership role, without the right to distribute privileges, and a party deprived of its monopoly....

LIBERATION: That would be unprecedented....

Bronislaw Geremek: It would be something never before seen in the world. Excuse me, I mean in our world.

PRON's Ciosek Comments

LD0802183189 Warsaw PAP in English
1734 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—After the conclusion of the inaugural session of round table debates one of its participants Stanislaw Ciosek, Political Bureau member, PUWP CC secretary and general secretary of the

National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), spoke to the EXPRESS WIECZORNY evening daily on his impressions. excerpts:

"It has been only the first meeting and, yet, it is true that the problem lies in details. There will be many more details to be faced by us, and one will have to work hard before we reach the end.

"There are many contradictory, controversial and conflicting issues to be solved. And goodwill is necessary for this end expected in six weeks to be good. Just as it was during the first session—despite critical formulations, despite some amount of bitterness, despite excessive emotions in words and perhaps too sharp formulations of some issues.

"I hope that the intentions of all of us are good and that this will be a basis for finding a way out of troublesome and difficult situations which may hinder us in leading to an end. This is how I would comment on the inaugural session of the round table.

"We all remember the years 1980-1981, and that is why it is so difficult—as we all know how this badly conducted political experiment in Poland must have ended. Now we all would like to avoid those threats, we would like the end to be happy.

"The first showdown at the round table seems to have been good, promising. This is a big experiment, a big test. We shall see how the things will go on.

"One must display the most of goodwill to make the round table end in a true national accord," Ciosek concluded.

PRON Expresses Support

LD0402205389 Warsaw PAP in English
1848 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 4—Following is the stand adopted today by the Executive Committee of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth:

PRON welcomes the "round table" debate starting on February 6. The movement sees in this important meeting of different social forces the materialization of a programmatic idea that had been represented and supported by PRON from the beginning of its existence.

PRON with hope will be observing the "round table" talks trusting that they will bring results that come up to the social expectations and well serve Poland and Poles.

PRON's support will accompany the participants in the "round table" who strive to achieve such results.

Further on Strike at Belchatow Lignite Mine

Solidarity Figure Involved

LD0802120789 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1105 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Today is the 3d day of the sit-in strike at the Belchatow lignite mine. One of the main demands of the workforce is a pay raise amounting to Z30,000 per person for all mine employees. At the same time, the strikers are demanding that an agreement, introduced and signed by the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of the Mining Employees of the Belchatow lignite mine and the Minister of Industry be withdrawn.

Late last night the strike committee at the mine repair workshops commenced talks with the management. The talks did not produce any results. At midnight it was decided to stop work in the technological units. They are still not working. The Belchatow power plant is working at a capacity reduced by 2,600 megawatts. It is supplied with reserve fuel from the mine [word indistinct] coal yard. The reserves will suffice for 3 days.

Negotiations have resumed today. Apart from the management, representatives of the Power Industry and Lignite Corporation and a group of Solidarity activists headed by Alojzy Pietrzyk, a participant in the roundtable talks, are taking part in them.

About 5,000 people are taking part in the strike. Loading and dumping conveyors are still being serviced. Other mine installations are not working.

Urban Scores Solidarity Support

LD0802200289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Jerzy Urban, spokesman for the state authorities representatives at the roundtable, states: A strike is continuing at the Belchatow open-cast mine. The strikers are rejecting the principles for wage increases—tied to efficiency—that were recently negotiated in coal mining by the trade unions, and are demanding an across-the-board 30,000-zloty pay increase. The strike, Jerzy Urban stated, has the character of opposition to the application of reform principles.

On 7 February, at around 1900, Alojzy Pietrzyk, a Solidarity roundtable participant, arrived at the Belchatow lignite coal mine. He was accompanied, among others, by (Ryszard Kostrzewa), an Solidarity activist for the Lodz region who, in January this year, was an adviser to the strike committee in the Pabianice Industrial Fabric Enterprise. (Ryszard Kostrzewa) acts as a envoy of the strike committee in Belchatow.

After a meeting with the 50-strong strike committee, the guests were led into the hall of the repair workshop of the Belchatow mine, where there were around 6-7,000 striking miners. Alojzy Pietrzyk presented himself as a

roundtable participant, and informed the strikers that he had come with the aim of calming the conflict, adding at the same time that it is necessary to be strong and tough. He also stated that at his calling, 20 hard coal mines will strike in support of the workforce at the Belchatow lignite coal mine. He quoted the slogan: "We are bound to win." He also stated that he had come in Lech Walesa's car, at his request and as his envoy. He stated that all demands presented by the strikers are just, and the method of forcing their implementation is correct.

On 8 February, Alojzy Pietrzyk was still at the Belchatow mine, although he informed the strike committee that he must leave the mine to conduct talks at the roundtable. He also emphasized that he had become convinced that the mine's workforce is tough. If we are tough and strong, then we are bound to succeed, he added.

In connection with these events, states Jerzy Urban, I must express decided unease in regard to the purpose of the roundtable talks and the chances of agreement. Agreement is impossible under strike pressure. We remember that many Solidarity activists applied this method of negotiation, the strike weapon, in 1981. This led to the accumulation of conflicts and pushed Poland to the brink of an economic and political abyss. The current roundtable partners, following the Solidarity tradition, sat down at the roundtable in order to find agreement, renouncing confrontational methods. How, therefore, can it be judged and understood that a participant of the roundtable, citing Lech Walesa, is rousing workers at the Belchatow mine to strike, and threatens to provoke Solidarity strikes in 20 hard-coal mines?

That was a statement by Jerzy Urban, spokesman for the state authorities representatives at the roundtable.

Mine Strike Continues

LD0902041789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0200 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Excerpt] The strike at the Belchatow lignite mine continues.

In the evening, all the technological systems supplying fuel to the Belchatow power station were still not working. As a result, it has already been forced to halt the work of five of its twelve power blocks.

Edward Olszewski, spokesman for the strike committee, says 7,000-8,000 people are taking part in the strike. [passage omitted]

Strike Suspended Until 28 Feb

LD0902062989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0400 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] The strike at the Belchatow lignite mine has been suspended until 28 February. The management has agreed to a pay raise of 21,000 zloty. We remind you that the workforce had demanded 30,000 zloty.

Power Station Workers Stage Strike Over Pay
LD0802193689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] The workforce of one of the biggest Polish power stations, the Dolna Odra in Szczecin region, has begun a wage protest. A PAP journalist was informed that trade unionists were thus expressing their disapproval for the actions of the ministry on pay: Failure to implement decisions on pay increases and failure to provide sufficient means for them. The power station is working at full capacity.

Dispute Among Health Employees Reported
AU0102124689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28-29 Jan 89 p 6

[PAP report: "But Won't This Affect the Patients?"]

[Text] On 27 January, protests commenced at 15 health units in Warsaw, including the Orłowski Hospital and the Mother and Child Institute. At the Orłowski Hospital, banners were suspended from the windows saying: "Sick Health Employees Need Vitamin P" [the Polish word for "wages" begins with a "p"].

Alicja Milewska, chairman of the Warsaw Council of the Federation of Health Employees Trade Unions, told PAP that a 26 January meeting of representatives of hospital trade unions had adopted a resolution that condemned the way in which the health minister intends to distribute funds for wages in the health service. "We wanted all the money (Z251 billion) to be used as a wage reserve, and not be distributed in an uncontrollable way," said A. Milewska. "The Health Ministry proposals are unacceptable; they guarantee wage rises to no one."

"Our resolution," A. Milewska continued, "says that strike action will be taken if the Health Ministry does not resolve the problem by 5 February." Asked about the effects of such a strike, A. Milewska replied that it would not "affect" patients.

Malinowski on 'Blank Spots' in Peasant Movement
LD0802162589 Warsaw PAP in English
1500 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—Chairman of the United Peasant Party's Central Committee Roman Malinowski told PAP about the significance of the liquidation of the so-called blank spots in the history of the peasant movement. (Excerpts):

Over the past few years we have been liquidating, fairly noiselessly, blank spots connected with the activity of the peasant movement in the interwar period and during the (Nazi) occupation. I mean here among other things the restoration to Wincenty Witos and the "peasant battalions" of their due place in our history.

Now—in connection with the oncoming 40th anniversary of the unification of the peasant movement—we want to elucidate blank spots relating to the postwar period. For although the unification itself is an important, positive value, many wrong things happened in the meantime. We also want to cast appropriate light on the role of postwar leaders, including Stanislaw Mikolajczyk.

We have already moved for Polish citizenship being restored to Mikolajczyk and Stanislaw Banczyk. It is beyond any question that Mikolajczyk, participant in the Wielkopolska uprising and leaders of large peasant strikes in the 1930s was a patriot, a Pole committed to the development and destinies of this country. Faithful to the principle that Polish problems should be tackled at home, Mikolajczyk gave up premiership of the London-based government-in-exile, also in view of the anti-Soviet character of that government—and he returned to Poland. His subsequent flight from this country was caused by the introduction of mechanisms typical of the Stalinist period, hence that flight must not be viewed in terms of high treason as it was formulated afterwards.

We want to elucidate all this completely, to indicate losses sustained by the entire Polish left-wing: peasant activists, Communists and Democrats as a result of Stalinist methods. The period in question witnessed the emergence in political relations of tendencies aimed at subordinating partners. The attitude to the countryside and farming, consisting in belittling their role, significance and needs, was also born in those years.

Summing up, the practices of the Stalinist formation suppressed Polish social and political diversity, struck Poland off her own road to socialism. All the aspects of those developments should be brought to light and made public.

Prosecutor's Statement on Priest's Death
AU0802173289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 2 Feb 89 p 5

[PAP report: "Investigation Into Death of Bialystok Priest: Asphyxiation Was Cause of Death"]

[Text] PAP's Bialystok correspondent Wincenty Zgiet reports that the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Bialystok issued the following press communique on 1 February:

The regional prosecutor's office in Bialystok is continuing the investigation into the death of Father Stanislaw Suchowolec. The examination of the living quarters in which the body of the deceased was found was completed in the early hours of 1 February. The examination was conducted by state prosecutors with the participation of experts in crime detection, chemistry, electric power, and fire-fighting, as well as a plenipotentiary representative of the diocesan bishop's office. Material was removed for further examination. An examination of the body and blood of the deceased was conducted at

the Forensic Medicine Department of the Bialystok Medical Academy. Other steps being taken include the questioning of people whose statements might explain all the circumstances surrounding the death.

The examination of the living quarters, the statements made by witnesses, the examination of the internal and external state of the body, and the examination of the deceased's blood confirm the hypothesis that asphyxiation was the cause of death.

What has been established by the investigation thus far makes it possible to consider the cause of the fire and the resultant carbon monoxide to be a "Farell" electric heater, which was switched on and standing on the carpet, and to assert that no third person was involved. Prosecutor Tadeusz Sabat, press spokesman of the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Bialystok said: "On the basis of what has been established thus far (and, in particular, in view of the fact that no indications of a struggle were found and the absence of external injuries on the body of the priest) there is no basis for positing the involvement of the third persons in the death of Father Suchowolec. The internal and external examination of the body also did not reveal any signs of trauma. Traces of soot, which probably originated from the burnt curtains and shutters, were found in the windpipe of the deceased. This indicates that the priest was alive when the fire broke out. He was breathing, but breathing smoke and air that contained carbon dioxide. This hypothesis is confirmed by the high level (50 percent) of carbon dioxide in the blood of the deceased and marks on the body that appear in cases in which death is due to carbon dioxide poisoning.

The experts in fire-fighting will no doubt explain the precise cause of the fire and why it did not spread, but went out, which was probably due to a lack of oxygen. I wish to state clearly that these are just the preliminary opinions of the experts. This applies to the experts in fire-fighting, as well as crime detection and electric power. The inspection of the site was not completed until the morning of 1 February.

Jaruzelski Receives PRON Chairman Dobraczynski
LD0402220189 Warsaw PAP in English
1827 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 4—Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with chairman of the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) Jan Dobraczynski to discuss problems related to the process of national agreement.

Swiss Foreign Affairs Official Felber Visits

Rakowski Receives Felber
LD0802185189 Warsaw PAP in English
1724 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—Poland's Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received here today head of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of the Swiss Confederation Rene Felber, who has been on an official visit to Poland.

The two discussed the state and prospects for bilateral relations between Poland and Switzerland and exchanged views on the current developments in the international situation with particular regard to the East-West relations and prospects of the processes of disarmament and detente in Europe.

Premier Rakowski briefed Minister Felber on his government activity for the implementation of economic and political reforms in Poland.

Felber Holds News Briefing
LD0802185689 Warsaw PAP in English
1642 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—Head of Switzerland's Federal Department of Foreign Affairs Rene Felber ended his official visit to Poland today and left Poland this afternoon.

Today Felber met with newsmen. He stated that his visit, the first one by a Swiss foreign minister after the Second World War, coincided with a historic, as he termed it, event in Poland, that is the inaugural session of round table debates.

Referring to the content of the talks he had in Warsaw, the Swiss politician said that they focused on international problems, including the situation on the European Continent, Poland's economic situation and Polish-Swiss relations. He stressed that the ongoing transformations in Poland were particularly favourable for expansion of mutual contacts. We have agreed that regular political contacts should follow this visit, Felber said.

Speaking about economic cooperation between Poland and Switzerland, the Swiss official stated that it should be based on common interests. Swiss firms regard as such Poland's membership in the CMEA, which can also make it easier for Switzerland to conduct economic exchange with the Soviet Union and other countries.

In reply to one of the questions the Swiss minister stated that the main obstacle in development of economic relations was undoubtedly the payment of Polish debt owed to Switzerland. As a result of negotiations with the Paris Club, one of the members of which is Switzerland, Poland was allowed to reschedule debt payment. However, no bilateral agreement has been signed as negotiations on the interest rate continue.

Poland has paid its debt owed to Swiss private banks, while the debt concerns credits guaranteed by the state.

Felber told newsmen that the talks also focused on cooperation in environmental protection. Poland wants to win Switzerland's support in know-how, personnel training and scientific exchange.

Polish Foreign Ministry Spokesman Stefan Staniszewski made a statement for PAP on the course and results of the visit by the Swiss foreign minister.

"Rene Felber's visit constitutes a significant fact in our bilateral relations," he said.

"During the talks (...) both (foreign) ministers came out for acceleration of positive transformations in the world and boosting all-European cooperation. Polish minister Tadeusz Olechowski voiced interest in constructive political dialogue with Switzerland, assessing that there are premises for the role played by neutral Switzerland in international relations, especially in the financial sphere, to find a proper expression in our bilateral relations."

"The sides decided to continue the meetings of the heads of diplomacy and to expand political relations by consultations between both countries' foreign ministries. At the same time they expressed their interest in developing economic, cultural and scientific cooperation (especially collaboration in environment protection) as well as cooperation between mass media," Staniszewski concluded.

Jaruzelski Receives Felber

LD0802202889 Warsaw PAP in English
1843 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received today visiting Swiss Foreign Minister Rene Felber.

The two politicians exchanged views on the basic questions of European detente and security. They pointed to possibilities and voiced the will to intensify bilateral relations between Poland and Switzerland.

The meeting was attended by Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski.

Present were Swiss Ambassador to Poland Paul Stauffer and Polish Ambassador to that country Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki.

Miodowicz Meets With FRG Parliamentarians

LD0802202189 Warsaw PAP in English
1850 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ Alfred Miodowicz received vice-chairman of the SPD Bundestag floor group and member of the SPD Board Horst Ehmke as well as secretary of the SPD Bundestag floor group Helmuth Ceckor today.

The talk focused on problems of the trade union movement in Poland.

Jaruzelski Receives SPD's Ehmke

LD0802212289 Warsaw PAP in English
1900 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received today Prof Horst Ehmke, vice-chairman of the SPD floor group at the Bundestag, member of the SPD Board.

Jaruzelski discussed determinants and prospects of the process of national agreement in Poland in the light of resolutions adopted by the 10th Plenum of the PUWP CC and of the start of talks at the round table.

The talk also focused on possibilities of exerting an influence by the SPD as an opposition party on accelerating the process of normalization of relations between Poland and the FRG in all domains.

The sides pointed to favourably developing cooperation between both parties and their parliamentary floor groups, particularly to the activity of the PUWP-SPD Joint Working Group dealing with the key issues of consolidation of peace and security in Europe.

The two voiced the will to continue mutually advantageous dialogue.

Further on Theoretical-Ideological Conference

Ideology Department Head Cited

LD0102185389 Warsaw PAP in English
1215 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 1—The third all-Poland PUWP theoretical-ideological conference will open on February 2 to hold debates for three days. The reasons for convening the conference and its goals have been explained by secretary of a team for preparation of the conference and head of PUWP CC Ideological Department Andrzej Czyz, in an interview for PAP.

"The need to develop theoretical premises of reforming the economy and the state," Czyz said, "stems from the fact that the programme of socialist renewal was shaped in the course of political praxis and was an expression of a drive to overcome the effects of the crisis. It emerged from the awareness that the hitherto forms of the political system had exhausted capability to provide solutions to issue of Poland's development. Today one feels a growing need to situate this programme in a broader theoretical perspective."

"Besides, we think that the conference may be conducive to such a deepened interpretation of the implemented changes which would provide the answers to at least some of the questions posed today by PUWP members, concerning the ideological essence of the processes of renewal," he said.

"The circle of problems which require theoretical reflection is very wide but out of this broad panorama we consider three to be of particular importance. The first problem concerns changes of social relations, particularly relations of ownership and of organization and management in economy. The second set of problems pertains to changes of Polish political system and the third, to changes in the party," head of the Ideological Department enumerated.

Answering a question on the course of the conference, Czyz said: "At a plenary session on the first day of debates, six basic reports will be delivered and a discussion will be launched. The reports will embrace experiences of Polish workers' movement, theoretical premises of socialism development, changes of social relations, particularly ownership relations, formation of Polish model of democracy and transformations in the party."

"On the second day, the conference will be working in six problem teams devoted to ideological and political aspects of the economic reform, changes of the social structure, Polish model of democracy, changes in the party, processes of forming social awareness, and Poland's place in contemporary world. On the third day, the conference will hold debates at a plenary session again," he added.

"Debates will be attended by representatives of six European socialist countries: The Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, and Romania," Czyz disclosed.

Concluding, Czyz underlined: "While preparing for the conference, we carefully followed the discussion which has been developing around changes of socialism in other countries. We have held round table talks with Soviet and Hungarian scientists, among others. The meetings have confirmed a considerable convergence of our assessments and opinions. At the same time, however, in the reflections over these issues there are a number of intrinsic features, characteristic of particular countries. Therefore the appearances made by our foreign guests will certainly draw increased attention of the participants in the conference."

Orzechowski Closes Conference

LD0502021289 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1630 GMT 4 Feb 89

[Speech by Marian Orzechowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, at the end of the third All-Poland PZPR Theoretical and Ideological Conference in Warsaw on 4 February—recorded]

[Text] There are very many historical as well as contemporary reasons which allow us—or even demand from us—that we treat the two concepts of Poland and socialism as indivisible. This description and the values which describe the essence of socialism are a lasting element in

the general consciousness of Poles, of social aspirations and expectations, even when they are not directly associated with the concept of socialism.

There is also no other way than through socialism to eliminate exploitation, injustice, unfairness, to create social conditions which would be truly worthy of man; no such way has been found, nor pointed out, nor tried. Only socialism creates realistic chances for a civilized advance for Poland, for averting the threat of its being transformed into a suburb of Europe, into a civilizational Skansen [not further identified]. Any other nonsocialist road, would lead Poland into a lasting dependence on the capitalist West. There are no bases, no premises for believing that the fate of that other Poland could be any different from the experience of states which are economically backward, mercilessly exploited by the centers of contemporary imperialism. Therefore today as well we can repeat, following the first Polish socialists of 1878—with complete certainty—that the triumph of the principles of socialism is an essential condition for the successful future of the Polish nation. The historic experience that socialism ensures lasting security for Poland, the inviolability of its frontiers, has in no way lost its essence today. It creates conditions for her worthy and equal role in Europe, in the European society of nations. A different Poland, a nonsocialist Poland would be unsure of its frontiers, of its territorial integrity; it would become an insignificant pawn on the international chessboard of Europe and the world. In these statements, dear comrades, there is already a partial answer to the question: Which socialism? This question is being asked by people from the party, it is asked by the opposition, by almost everyone. This question contains the inherent conviction of a need for a fundamental change in the way socialism is viewed: views become antiquated, they no longer fit, they no longer mirror reality, the vision of socialism, and its current shape.

The deep change that is taking place in the economy, politics, ideology, and social psychology, has changed our way of looking at socialism, it has been the cause of the fact that all thoughts on the essence of socialism must be thought through again if we do not wish to restrict ourselves to a simple repetition of generalities regarding justice, freedom, and equality—as if we were passing over the concrete conditions for their realization.

At the present stage of the development of socialism as a phenomenon of the universal character, its theory faces extraordinarily significant tasks. The issue is not just the generalization of the new experiences; the task reaches deeper. It means a critical verification and increase in the theoretical notions of socialism, the rejection of all illusions and myths connected with them, and many certainties that would seem to be unshakeable. One must return to the roots of socialism, as an idea of the movement and the system, to the ascertainment one cannot and should not be ashamed of, that socialism—as an intellectual current and a real political force—has grown from the strivings of millions of working people

for a more prosperous, dignified, happy life, to the searching for an answer to the question about the meaning of work, satisfaction ensuing from it, the reaches of human knowledge and the possibility to shape one's own life. The sense, and the essence of socialism in its axiological layer remain unchanged and stable: human dignity, social justice, social welfare, high rank of work, democracy and supremacy of an individual, patriotism, internationalism—these are the values which constitute its identity. These and other values deem that according to our convictions it is only socialism that will define the fate of the world. Talking about socialism we have in mind such shape of the social order in which man will be able to freely develop his skills and creative powers, to harmoniously shape relations with other people and to influence the environment in a rational way.

We place the question about socialism on Polish ground, in the national realities, in the national conditions. In asking about which course of socialism to follow, we try to define, as precisely as possible, the character of challenges Poland faces and has faced. The origin and the character of these challenges are not homogeneous: The continuity in human civilization's development, the human striving for progress and for ever fuller control of the nature and social life, and the striving for better fulfillment of material and intellectual needs. Radical renewal and restructuring of socialism meets that challenge halfway. In other words we perceive it not as a formation built on an empty field, and not as a spiritual condition but as a stage in the historical process. Socialism is not any ordinary contradiction to capitalism or its reverse, as it used to be presented in the traditional, stereotype conceptions. Those conceptions erased that characteristic of the social development; the transition from one formation to the other has always meant the rejection of that which impeded development—adopting something suprasystemic—of civilization as a whole character. The transition has also meant searching for new solutions, unknown to the previous formation, or solutions the previous formation could not find. Capitalism, after all, did not create the market, money, or the community system. Socialism, does not have to reject them as capitalistic if only they are favorable to rational and efficient management. [word indistinct] socialism, a stage of human civilization's development also does not have to reject that which capitalism has brought and developed in the political and spiritual sphere: parliamentary democracy, the division of authority, the general electoral law, civic rights, and liberties. All that, after all, has distinguished the permanent achievements of civilization and progress. At the same time socialism accepting them perceives limitations on progress which have been created by capitalism not in the forms and principles but in the restrictions whereby they cease to function. A program of transformations limited to superficial corrections and cosmetics of the hitherto conceptions of socialism as well as the socioeconomic and political structures and mechanism relevant to them is an expression of either fear of the unknown or is also a new form of conservatism and its defenses.

A sober (?discussion) devoid of party emotions and particularist limitations, leads to the conclusion that the key to the reply to questions asking what kind of Poland and what kind of socialism is still to be found is in the hands of the PZPR.

Its lasting preservation, however, calls for not only a clear definition of its ideological identity, place, and role in society and the state, for ways of its fulfillment, structure, and mechanisms of action, but for, above all, a fast and thorough reform of the party. The road toward this aim was effectively opened by the 10th plenum, which replied to many questions in a fundamental and binding manner. The duty of party theoreticians and ideologists is to develop these answers and make them more specific, to recognize new conditions of their implementation and point out with full openness all (?possible) consequences of the abandonment or delaying of reformatory transformations. The modern party, the Marxist party of socialism, which is crossing the threshold of the 21st century, must be completely different than it is at present. It must be an initiating and stimulating force for the development of more humanitarian, rational and economically and politically efficient socialism. It must be a permanent reformer of reality, a part but also a power-giving force of socialist parliamentary democracy. It must be an active force of a pluralistic socioeconomic and political design, but it must also be a guarantee for its socialist character, a party aware of its left-wing identity, capable to lead not only society, but above all the broad left-wing front. It must be a party of all the working people, which, however, does not lose its orientation toward the supreme working class, and socialist ideals.

The party has come out in favor of the leading position of social ownership based on economic criteria, in favor of the freedom to undertake economic activity, and in favor of a lasting model of the multisector national economy based on the condition of equality of the sectors.

Cardinal questions arise here however: How to preserve the dominant position of socialized ownership in such a manner that its privileged position would not weaken the rigors of efficiency? What should one change to eradicate the feeling of alienation of direct producers and their feeling of the lack of influence on the course of management processes? How to skillfully combine individual enterprising and innovative spirit with group efforts for the common good?

I think that the conference has brought us a little closer to defining theoretically justified, and economically and politically rational answers to these questions. In the reports and in the discussion, the thesis that the essence of changes in the relations of ownership lies in profound transformations in the functioning of the socialized means of production, that is where more than 80 percent of the national income is made. But Poland and socialism as a whole lack verified models of socialization,

which would be appropriately effective and rational. This is and will continue to be an area of extremely important, not to say fundamental, theoretical search, but above all of practical search. It will continue to be an area where contradictions will manifest themselves, for example between the arguments for extensive self-management and fairness, and high efficiency and economic accounting, and so on and so forth. There was a time when the theory of state and the political practice of socialism were dominated by such concepts as the dictatorship of proletariat, governing [word indistinct] of the ruling class, supreme value, and class struggle. In essence they expressed and justified the omnipotence of the state, its totalitarian nature, its right to subordinate every walk of public life. In a thus-interpreted socialist state there was little room for democracy, independence, and law observance, for freedoms and liberties of the individual.

Today the situation is radically changing. When we think of a socialist state, the most important prospects seem to be democracy, parliamentarism, law, intensive pluralism, abundance of initiative and social movements, harmony, public discipline—which is arrived at consciously and by choice, supported with guarantees of individual's rights—clashing of ideas and competition. That kind of state transformation is and will be a difficult process; it will not take place in a day.

The Polish United Workers Party is not renouncing its leading role. But it does not wish to and no longer can fulfil it by continuing to copy the erstwhile methods. It will only fulfil its role and tasks when it functions within a socio-economic, political, and civic system in accordance with the demands of economics, law, and democratic work ethic. This is not and will not be possible without strengthening the pro-socialist alliance. The party is a part of the Polish left, the basic and strongest part, but only a part. The left as a whole, and not merely the Polish United Workers' Party, will create the political and social guarantees of Poland's socialist development.

Deputy Premier Patorski Interviewed on Economy
PM0202114189 Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU
in Polish 16 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Deputy Premier Janusz Patorski by SZTANDAR LUDU correspondent Andrzej Jasinski; date, place not given]

[Text] [Jasinski] No one today doubts the new government's good intentions. But even the best ideas and most brilliant projects can be thwarted by the army of officials operating at different levels in the system. As the saying goes, "the act itself is fine; it is the enacting regulations that distort it." Are you not afraid that the same thing may not happen again?

[Patorski] This is the key question in my work today. The parliamentary bills and draft resolutions presented to the Sejm by the end of January this year constitute, as

it were, the hardware of the new economic policy and new institutional solutions. What we need now is the software: the essential, necessary programs and systems without which the whole machinery simply cannot work. I agree with what you said because experience has taught me that even the best ideas, concepts, and principles can be negated and thwarted without the people to apply and implement them effectively.

Thus the software I refer to involves cooperation from leaders at all levels of management, from foreman to general manager. It is with much hope that we note the new movement in this field: the willingness to create management groups and organizations. We support the organizers of partnership groups who knew one another and one another's possibilities and who will create a mutual assistance network.

The software I am talking about will also include press publications issued by those people. Take, for example, RZECZPOSPOLITA's so-called "zero issue" supplement entitled GAZETA PRZEMYSLOWA [INDUSTRY NEWS], which is published with the assistance of the Ministry of Industry. Another RZECZPOSPOLITA supplement due to appear shortly will be called JAKOSC ZYCIA I PRACY [LIVING AND WORKING STANDARD].

I mention these to prove to you that, in addition to solutions that are, so to speak, "mechanical"—that is, involving a set of economic and financial regulations and procedures—the reform envisages solutions involving human resources and capabilities, because the quality and organization of people's working life and the kind of creativity it requires constitute a very significant element of the quality of life enjoyed by every human being. I know that several places in our country already meet the conditions necessary for the creation of similar periodicals whose aim will be to give publicity to individuals and companies notable for their resourcefulness and enterprise, to popularize new technologies, advise on the interpretation of new acts and regulations, provide information on world trends and developments, instruct their readers on capital flow, and brief them on all important contemporary economic, financial, and social phenomena.

I am not afraid of the danger you mentioned in your question. I am very well aware of it and, together with my colleagues in the government, I want to preempt it. Consequently we will not fear those who might stall our initiatives though inertia or inaction; but self-styled world champions in impeding others' progress or forcing them off their course had better beware!

[Jasinski] Not so long ago a former PZPR Politburo member took great pains to assure me that the list of national priorities could not be shortened under any circumstances. The new government's list features only a few priorities. I appreciate the realistic approach, but I am afraid we will not make any visible progress in, say, the construction industry without a considerable

increase in the production of building materials, especially finishing materials. This, in turn, will require the involvement of nearly half of our industry. Can this be achieved in a short time? Is it possible to employ highly efficient economic incentives to stimulate the growth of that production?

[Patorski] We intend to be scrupulously consistent in the matter of our selected priorities. Whenever issues concerning food economy, construction industry, ecology, or export are raised in government sessions, a lot of thought is given to ways in which we could successfully encourage initiatives in these sectors of the economy and promote their growth and development. Of course it is only human nature that as soon as we switch from a list containing a large number of national priorities to one featuring just a few, we have to contend with resentment and dissatisfaction on the part of those who want us to extend the list again and who will even resort to pressure in the hope of getting us to fit certain favored items into the list after all. We must remember that the dropped priority items represent the interests of particular groups and we must allow for a certain amount of controversy and conflict to arise as a consequence of our decisions.

As regards the housing construction sector, our plan for the consolidation of the national economy includes a series of ventures of an executive character which will facilitate the development of the housing construction industry or, to be more precise, create more opportunities for its development. A new provision in the financial regulations allows 50 percent of income before tax to be invested in housing construction projects.

[Jasinski] People who, as the saying goes, stand at the helm of the state often hold the view—or at least agree with it—that no reform is likely to succeed without young people's support. What, if any, are the chances that these words will be backed up by deeds?

[Patorski] I do not divide people into young and old. I know many interesting people of retirement age who come up with new ideas every week and who certainly make their mark on the environment in which they live and work. It is in the nature of young people to be dynamic and critical and to discard things of the past, albeit sometimes mistakenly—but these are all natural traits. Our package of new acts and decrees is addressed first and foremost to such restless people: to all restless people, regardless of their age.

The young are more critical and reject all formal authorities. Consequently, if we want to involve them in something we must employ individual forms of management and argument. These must be logical, cohesive, and convincing through facts rather than through old slogans that have by now become quite empty. This is why we are creating practical conditions for the implementation

of the slogan: "Liberty, freedom of action, and competition," for I am convinced that equal opportunities will allow those who are truly active to reach the top. This is how I see the chances for turning words into deeds.

In any case, I know many instances where groups of young and middle-aged people have already managed to take advantage of the emerging new opportunities. I am thinking here of such examples as work teams, innovation and implementation companies, and the new independent production departments.

[Jasinski] We are introducing equality among all sectors of the economy. We are pinning high hopes on the development of the small-scale manufacture and business sector. By all means let us hope this works out, but the lion's share of national income still comes from the large state-owned enterprises. Will we be able to restore this sector of the national economy to good health before people's patience runs out? Is that a realistic hope?

[Patorski] It is certainly true that more than 90 percent of national income is generated by large state enterprises. However, it is not true that the "hardware" package I mentioned earlier contains solutions designed exclusively for the so-called self-accountable sector. We are introducing considerable freedom of movement in the system of financing state enterprises and a uniform system of tax on revenues for all legal persons, that is, for all sectors. We are extending considerably the limits of enterprises' discretion to obtain hard currencies: They will have 10 times as much as they have now. We are abolishing liabilities toward the foreign debt servicing fund. We are introducing a new system of enterprise finance based on separating exchequer capital from enterprise funds.

All in all, the new conditions will act as a kind of firm setting on which enterprise can base their operations. We are creating conditions in which it will be difficult to get away with sloppy business practices but which will promote and encourage all truly sound business ventures.

That sector of the economy should be presenting us with increasing numbers of leading enterprises. I call them our beacon enterprises. They already exist. It is not true that the 1980's have brought no changes for a certain proportion of state enterprises. But there are still too few enterprises that have changed. I hope that, as we proceed with simplifying the existing regulations and putting the economy back on its feet, we will find increasing numbers of people who both know how and want to implement reforms in enterprises.

Will this happen in all enterprises? No. It would be naive of us to believe that all state enterprises will now reorganize themselves, implement reforms, and become more dynamic. In this sphere nothing can replace proper, vigorous personnel policy, which I see as an

active search for and promotion of new talent in conditions in which it can develop and prove itself in competition with others. No legal regulations or ready rules of the game can take the place of the political and social factor in this field. I do not believe that the system of automatic regulation we want to introduce over the next few years can of itself produce for us the right kind of personnel. Of course the system will provide the conditions, but we will still have to inject the right kind of people into it.

[Jasinski] It is a poor man who hangs on masters' favors, as the saying goes. The high credit of trust placed in the new government that CBOS [Public Opinion Survey Center] polls have shown could be promptly withdrawn after another major price increase for basic foodstuffs. Can you see a way of avoiding that danger?

[Patorski] Our principle is to give and take. After all, the introduction of market mechanisms and financial laws cannot be done for nothing. On the other hand the package that we will offer in exchange for their costs and that has been partly put into practice already contains such deals as, for instance, the freeing of Polish families from the yoke of the ration system. We have done away with the rationing of gasoline and with allocation coupons for the purchase of cars and this year we intend to abolish the most humiliating and at the same time most political form of rationing: that of meat and meat products. In other words, we will restore access to what should be accessible through postproduction market mechanisms and increased supply.

[Jasinski] Thank you for talking to me.

Foreign Trade Minister Holds News Conference
LD0802182289 Warsaw PAP in English
1659 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 8—"Poland needs intensive, profitable exports. When the Sejm passes the foreign currency law, for the first time (in Poland's history) a concise, logical and full system of economic and legal solutions guiding the economy through the foreign trade to the profits rising from more active participation in the international division of labour will be created," Poland's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Dominik Jastrzebski told newsmen here today.

Referring to the structure of the system, the minister underscored a departure from the approach oriented on thinking how to distribute (for instance, goods for home market and exports) in favour of concentrating on methods for increasing production and supply of goods and services. Therefore, the economic policy of the government puts stress on supporting production. At the same time, there are limits to the exports expansion determined by the profitability of each transaction, stated Dominik Jastrzebski.

Answering questions, the minister said that against the misleading interpretation of one of Minister Wilczek's statements, Poland is not going to give up her status of a world exporter of coal and will meet her trade commitments. Limited, however, by impossibility of growing her coal production, Poland is interested in cooperation with other countries in order to use fuel and energy more efficiently and rationally at home, which could help increase coal supply, underscored Jastrzebski.

Trade Official Queried on Bulgarian Relations
AU2601124989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 25 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Marek Jankowski, Polish "trade representative" in Sofia, by Valentin Boyadzhiev: "Shall We Expect the Third Billion?"—date not given]

[Text] [Boyadzhiev] Trade between our country and the Polish People's Republic reached R 1 billion for the first time in 1987, and this figure was also reached in 1988! The rate of increase—12.54 percent—was particularly high in 1988, which makes Poland one of our chief trading partners among the socialist countries.

All existing prerequisites in this field justify our expectations that in our trade exchanges and our scientific-technical cooperation the "billion record" will be repeated for the third time in 1989. Marek Jankowski, trade representative of the Polish People's Republic in our country, is particularly optimistic about this.

[Jankowski] Polish exports to Bulgaria in 1989 will cover certain structure-determining branches of Bulgarian economy, such as metal processing and metal cutting machines; diesel motors; mining and road construction machines and equipment; electronic calculating equipment; automobiles for special purposes; certain chemical industry products; processed foodstuffs, and beverages.... According to a protocol to be signed in 1989, Bulgaria will export metal processing machines; electric driven vehicles; refrigerating equipment; medical drugs; electric instruments; cosmetics, and other goods to Poland. We expect trade exchanges of mass consumer goods to increase. We will continue to develop certain forms of economic integration between our two countries. I do not exclude the possibility that some Polish-Bulgarian economic associations likely to increase our exchange of goods may be established in 1989. Such an enterprise, namely the Vitaflora Association (with the participation of the Sredetes Agro-Industrial Complex on the Bulgarian side), already exists, and it is operating very well.

[Boyadzhiev] We should add a few other facts to this. The Vasil Kolarov Plant in Varna and the Polish Ursus plant are expected to begin production sharing. The new tractor that will be produced will be called "Ursus-Varna." Cooperation in the agricultural aviation sector is also expected to develop. As a matter of fact 12 Bulgarian aircrafts worked in Polish agricultural areas in 1988.

POLITYKA Interview With Czarzasty, Miller
AU0702160189 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
28 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretaries Zygmunt Czarzasty and Leszek Miller by POLITYKA reporter Marek Henzler: "You Can't Play the Bride at Every Wedding"—date, place not given]

[Text] POLITYKA: Gentlemen, you are two of the youngest voivodship party committee first secretaries. The 10th plenum made you Central Committee secretaries. Who does one have to be and what does one have to do in order to be accepted into the Central Committee, despite the fact that many Central Committee members voted against you?

Miller: First of all, I was a laborer at a textile plant in Zyrardow, after which I obtained employment in the party apparatus and was sent to study at the Higher School of Social Sciences. After that, I was given a post in the Central Committee, where I slowly worked my way up to departmental director. In July 1986 I became first secretary of the Skierniewice Voivodship PZPR Committee, the voivodship in which I was born and began my working life. Did I want to be "first"? Yes I did, and very much so. I believe every political activist should take that road.

Czarzasty: On completion of my studies, I became a prosecutor, then a full-time employee at the Foreign Ministry, and then a functionary of the party, in which I became deputy director of a Central Committee department. In January 1986 I commenced "practical experience" as first secretary of the Slupsk Voivodship PZPR Committee. I think that in order to be a good political activist, one has to want to be one and one has to work properly. If one wants promotion, one has to choose a time when one's qualities are in demand inside the party.

POLITYKA: One of you has worked with young people in Skierniewice voivodship, and the other has been trying to make the party apparatus more open to society in Slupsk voivodship.

Miller: I think the reasons why the Central Committee accepted us into its fold are our ages (Czarzasty is 46, and I am 42), the economic successes of our voivodships (in construction, environmental protection, and the decentralization of powers), and our conviction that the party must fight and seek new and more effective solutions all the time.

POLITYKA: From important Central Committee positions, you transferred to the voivodships. How did you react to the realities of life there? What experience have you brought back to the Central Committee with you?

Czarzasty: Thanks to my earlier work in the Central Committee, I left it without any complexes and without a feeling of humility.

Miller: I also did not treat the Central Committee as a temple toward which one should pray.

Czarzasty: Apart from that, I discovered that the reality is far richer than even the most detailed party instructions can portray.

Miller: I learned to be very submissive. My earlier work in the Central Committee had made me overconfident. In Skierniewice, I asked myself whether all the programs, reports, and analyses made by the Central Committee had any practical meaning whatsoever. It turned out that a lot of the Central Committee's work was useful to the Central Committee, but not to party people in the field. Therefore, as Central Committee secretary, I am going to work differently. I will force through my own point of view and remove all the shackles that bind human energy.

POLITYKA: After a series of featureless Central Committee plenum debates, the Central Committee at last showed a new face at the last, 10th plenum. Do interesting debates only occur in times of danger?

Czarzasty: Previous plenums were ruled by the practice of establishing the order of floor speeches by means of consultations. Also, the composition of previous plenums was based on the composition of the 10th Congress, a composition that lost faith in its effectiveness.

Miller: Bad practice is also responsible for the state of affairs you ask about. All too often, a party activist was good only when no one knew what his views were. Today, every activist has to have views, and has to make them public. Mediocrity must be condemned as a social deviation.

POLITYKA: But will it be possible to dispense with such a deeply-rooted philosophy of mediocrity? Are the present state and economic activists capable of relating to the 10th plenum decisions with the required imagination?

Miller: It is these plenum resolutions that upset old patterns of thought. They provide evidence of party initiative. As a result, we now have new possibilities and a new start. These resolutions have also created new qualities that are required of cadres.

Czarzasty: But that does not mean that people have to be exchanged. The new situation will check whether every member of the party, state, and economic leadership possesses leadership qualities. It will no longer be necessary to wait for the results of this check for years. They may be provided within a few months, or even weeks.

Miller: One must not succumb to an obsession to create a moral-political unity among society. There has never been a society in which everyone thinks the same, and there never will be one. There have always been differences and there always will be differences. It is thanks to differences that we develop. The point is to prevent these differences from developing into sharp social conflicts.

For this we need various new mechanisms, on which we have to reach an agreement with the opposition. We are concerned with the possibility of expressing differences.

POLITYKA: Nevertheless, the party possesses a debt of many unfulfilled promises. From where do you derive the courage to tell society that, unfortunately, not everything that the party promised has succeeded, and that we are starting from scratch?

Czarzasty: That is not necessary. I think our mistake is that we keep rebuilding Poland from scratch all the time. We did so in 1944, then in 1948, then in 1956, and so on. We did it again at the 10th plenum.

Miller: We know what the party's debt and responsibility is. But does the opposition share any responsibility? None. All it does is make forecasts and paint romantic visions. One cannot say that the work of the past 40 years has been wasted. This work is a starting point from which we can commence our climb.

Czarzasty: All the distortions of the last 45 years—the regimented thinking and action, the safeguards, the restrictions, the mistrust in society, the belief that society can only be led in one direction—all that has to be eliminated today. Socialism grew out of people's faith in justice, security, and freedom. It did not grow out of bayonets. We are giving society concessions because we are not immutable and dogmatic. The generation of the ZMP [Polish Youth Union] was the generation of our fathers. We have entirely different experiences.

Miller: The party should never pretend that it knows the answer to every single question. It should not always be in the front line and assume responsibility for everything. We have to reject our ambition to be heroes all the time. We cannot be the bride at every wedding. We have to change that way of thinking and let others be the bride. We must be present, but we do not have to occupy the center of the stage forever. It is enough that we make an appearance on it from time to time.

POLITYKA: All right, but how many people are there in the party, or, to be more exact, in the full-time apparatus, who approve of these new rules of the political game?

Czarzasty: Let us not bother with counting. These people are already there. All one has to do is reach out for them.

POLITYKA: There has been a lot of talk about conservative and reformist forces in the party. Can you feel this difference and identify who belongs to which category?

Czarzasty: I feel it every day. After all, no decisions are reached unanimously nowadays.

Miller: The world is no longer black and white. The motives behind human conduct are much more complex. Many people are afraid of changes and would like to see a continuation of that which has existed until now,

because it safeguards their position. This does not just apply to the authorities. It also applies to people in workplaces who are responsible for looking after their own affairs and those of others.

POLITYKA: The 10th plenum resolution suggests the holding of various roundtables at all levels, at which Poles are supposed to come to terms with each other. There are already such meetings at factory level, attended by the manager, the head of the party committee, and the chairman of the reborn trade union; in other words, people who have spent years combatting the views of the very people with whom they are due to start negotiations today. Will they be able to dispense with their prejudices of the past?

Miller: I believe in the people on our side. I think the danger stems from our interlocutors, because anyone who ever had any claims will abide by these claims. We must also remember that the situation inside factories in 1989 is completely different to what it was in 1980. No government commission is going to arrive with a sack full of money today. If a strike occurs today, it will continue until the enterprise goes bankrupt, unless the work force restrains itself.

POLITYKA: The 10th plenum stance on political and trade union pluralism was adopted with a great many votes against it and a great many warnings that it might create divisions inside the party and even make people resign their membership.

Czarzasty: We have not detected any such tendencies yet, which of course does not mean that they might not appear later. The plenum stance is a declaration of intent, that is all. The party base might become more worried when the political and trade union pluralism actually begins to be implemented.

POLITYKA: We have known for several days that nothing will happen to a party member if he has his child christened or has a church wedding. But even party members themselves are talking about political pluralism. What is the limit that party members must not exceed if they want to remain in the party?

Czarzasty: All kinds of flowers are allowed to bloom in the party today. The only restriction is that there must not be entire fields of blue cornflowers or just couchgrass.

Miller: But the problem of party control emerges. The party cannot be just a multicolored meadow or a debating society to which people come if they want an intellectual adventure. The party must be capable of acting in specific situations, at a uniform speed, and more or less in a uniform way, for example when elections are forthcoming. That is the way it is in the world, and that is the way it should be in Poland.

POLITYKA: Czarzasty is responsible for party organizational matters today, and is carrying out yet another reorganization of the party apparatus, but this time in Slupsk Voivodship. I have heard that all this moving about of chairs will take at least 1 year, and will effectively prevent work during such an important period for the party.

Czarzasty: You are exaggerating. However, things will already be clear at the 11th plenum, which will mark the end of the reorganization. It is not I who am carrying out this reorganization, but the Central Committee, which will consist of 15 commissions. These commissions will each deal with specific tasks, problems, or communities. The old Central Committee departments are becoming the executive secretariats of the commissions. The heads of departments are now becoming the executive secretaries of commissions, who also have chairmen who are independent of the party apparatus. Only three departments will remain: the Central Committee Chancellery, the Department for the Economy, and the Internal Party and Cadres Department. This socialization of the Central Committee means a 45 percent personnel reduction. However, these people will not leave the party altogether, but will be transferred to lower party levels. And they will not all do so at once, but over a longer period of time. The party employs about 13,500 political employees, and it is not necessary to reduce this number today. What is necessary is to deploy them better. Voivodship committees will no longer be mirror images of the Central Committee, either. Let anyone who has a better idea do things his own way.

POLITYKA: The plenum said a lot about trade union pluralism, but not so much about political pluralism, especially among young people, farmers, or creative circles. These matters will be dealt with by the commission chaired by Secretary L. Miller. What changes can one expect? What about the NZS [Independent Students Union]?

Miller: The Sejm has yet to pass the Associations Act. It will set out rules governing the registration of various organizations and associations. However, it would be bad if the only ideas to emerge in this sphere concerned life to the right of the party. There are also young people with a leftwing orientation who wish to study the origins of Marxism.

POLITYKA: What if the party leadership miscalculates the date of the next "miracle on the Vistula"?

Miller: No one expects another miracle. We have learned a lot and changed a lot during the long years of our existence. We also want to know how our potential partners have changed, whether they have learned anything, and whether they are ready to apologize for their mistakes. I have yet to hear such apologies from the other side. I would like to know, for example, if the other side still thinks that the American sanctions were correct.

Czarzasty: I agree with Miller. However, I am afraid of our excessive zeal, and fear that we might become impatient if nothing is achieved after the first few talks. This is more important than it seems, because we will either become a part of European economics and culture, or the open-air museum of Europe.

Miller: Of course, nothing will change immediately as a result of an accord between elites and the success of the roundtable. Our own roundtables will only take place when we reach an agreement about the need for sacrifice and self-constraint, and about the supremacy of economic laws.

POLITYKA: But that is what society is afraid of. The latest OPZZ resolutions reflect this fear.

Czarzasty: But it is no longer a society of schoolchildren playing with colored lights. Society understands many things today. One cannot blame the OPZZ for its conduct; after all, the OPZZ is also seeking its identity. Trade unionists on both sides must realize that the "no" policy leads nowhere, and that those who say "no" are left outside the mainstream of the reforms. I am convinced that reason will prevail everywhere.

POLITYKA: In other words, even a progovernment "Solidarity" and an oppositional OPZZ are possible?

Czarzasty: There is not much that is impossible today.

POLITYKA: But what if the opposition does not take the offer or breaks off the talks after the first few rounds?

Miller: I think such a scenario is out of the question. It would be against society's expectations. A dramatic conflict in Poland would bury everyone today. More people realize this more today than in 1981.

Czarzasty: We too cannot remain a sect and live in a ghetto, or seek the help of others and defend socialism by force. But neither can the other side, too, remain indifferent to society's expectations.

Warsaw Pact Statement Seen as Sign of Change
AU0202100589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 30 Jan 89 p 7

[Commentary by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "Open Information Policy Is an Expression of Change in International Relations"]

[Text] The document that we have printed is exceptional. For the first time, the Warsaw Pact states have officially revealed data on their armed forces and basic armaments, and compared them with the military potential of the North Atlantic Pact in Europe and adjoining waters.

The socialist countries proposed such an exchange of information last March, but did not encounter understanding and a positive reaction from NATO. Instead, the West began to quote various figures, selected tendentiously, and meant to prove the Warsaw Pact's alleged superiority.

The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee communique presents complete numerical data on the entire armed forces organization on both sides, stressing that all the components of this military potential are interactive and exert mutual influence, and that only a comprehensive analysis thereof can lead to an assessment of real strength.

A comparative analysis of the tables shows that an approximate military balance exists in Europe, preventing either side from gaining definite military superiority over the other side. This balance is not even affected by the internal asymmetry between the various types of armed forces and armaments in each bloc. For example, NATO has more strike aircraft, the Warsaw Pact has more tanks, and so on. However, these differences are canceled out when we look at the armed forces in their entirety.

The figures in the tables also reveal that this balance is on a very high, dangerous level, as a result of the arms race that has lasted for dozens of years. Both sides have very many soldiers and materiel. Each side has over 3.5 million soldiers in Europe, 7 million altogether! The preservation of peace calls for an immediate start on lowering this ceiling. The way leading to a reduction of individual components of the military potentials of both sides has to be safeguarded by military-political stability on the basis of an intelligent defense sufficiency, in other words a sufficiency on as low a level as possible. The ministers indicate that the first thing to do is undertake immediate action to reduce the most dangerous categories of offensive armed forces and armaments.

The data that has been published today presents the status of forces on 1 July 1988. No significant changes have occurred on the NATO side since that date. However, the Warsaw Pact states, by virtue of the defensive character of their national military doctrines and the doctrine governing the alliance, have already begun to reduce their military potentials, as the tables show. Of the greatest significance will be Mikhail Gorbachev's announced unilateral Soviet Army reductions of 500,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery pieces, 800 combat aircraft, and so on. This includes the 6 armored divisions due to be withdrawn from Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. This process has already started.

Other Warsaw Pact states have also decided to reduce their military potentials.

Our country, too, is pursuing a consistent policy of reducing its armed forces and defense spending. The Polish plan that was presented at the United Nations, known as the Jaruzelski Plan, is our national contribution toward a reduction of armaments in Europe.

The press interview given by General Florian Siwicki (TRYBUNA LUDU 4 January) presents a program of our domestic activity in this direction. The armed forces restructuring announced in this interview will bring about a considerable reduction in the numerical status of armed forces and armaments. A suitable defense capability will be preserved, however. This activity is now taking place.

At the same time, the Warsaw Pact defense ministers communique illustrates the openness of information policy on the subject of topics that, until recently, were considered top secret. Therefore it illustrates a change in ways of thinking and in international relations. It also permits the optimistic forecast that the good will of the Warsaw Pact states will be properly interpreted as a constructive step on the road toward further military detente and the perpetuation of peace.

Soldiers To Work on Land Reclamation, Forestry
LD0802211789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Help from soldiers for the farming industry and forestry was discussed by Kazimierz Olesiak, Defense Minister Florian Siwicki, and Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak. General Siwicki made the decision that some of the vans and trucks currently being withdrawn from the Army will be sold to private farmers, and soldiers will work on land reclamation and recultivation.

Deputy Premier Sekula Addresses Sejm Session
AU0602133089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 1 Feb 89 p 3

["Summary" of speech by Deputy Premier Ireneusz Sekula at the 31 January Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] On behalf of the chairman of the Council of Ministers and government, I wish to thank all the deputies, and especially the Sejm Economic Plan, Budget, and Finance Commission, for the great amount of work they have put in recently, under enormous pressure of time.

Both the plenary debate and the debates by individual Sejm commissions have revealed understandable and natural differences between interests. It is not possible to construct the kind of plan that satisfies everyone to the same degree, especially at a time of crisis and shortages. Full consensus could only occur if poverty is distributed equally. [passage omitted]

Is the government ready to implement the National Economic Consolidation Plan even if society does not fully approve of it? Of course it is, because the development of the situation in our country and the bold decisions reached by the 10th plenum are leading us to a qualitatively new world in which consensus between everyone on the subject of everything will belong to the past. We will have to work accompanied by differences in interests, accompanied by criticism about particular solutions and a clash between various milieus. The essence of solving these conflicts is an ability to distinguish between two separate outlooks; one based on parochial interests, and the other based on the interests of the state, society, and economy. If everyone, or almost everyone, is able to distinguish between these two outlooks, then it should be possible to accord priority to the second category whenever a clash occurs between the two. This is the key to solving many difficult conflicts, disputes, and differences between interests.

Civic Ombudsman's Sejm Report Published

AU0602141089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 1 Feb 89 p 3

[“Abridged version” of speech by Ewa Letowska, civic ombudsman, at the 31 January Sejm session in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] I stood at this rostrum for the first time over 1 year ago, an unknown person about to assume an unknown office, and an office with no staff and no address. At that time, I had received several thousand letters from people hoping that at last the authorities had found someone able to resolve their problems in life and alleviate their frustrations quickly.

Today, I am standing at this rostrum once again in order to present my report as civic ombudsman, richer with the knowledge of what a civic ombudsman is and what he is not, and what he may and may not do.

I represent an office with 50 staff, an office weighed down by the 50,000 letters it has received since it commenced its work. For the sake of comparison, the French mediateur has a staff of 54 and has received 4,500 letters, and the Swedish ombudsman has a staff of 51 and received 3,000 letters. At the end of November, I presented a list of 70 negative opinions about acts and other legal instruments. I pointed out cases where implementation of the law was contrary to the letter and spirit of the appropriate legal provisions. Each one of the negative opinions was backed by dozens, and even hundreds, of cases involving ordinary people. I asked the Constitutional Tribunal to issue rulings five times, and the Supreme Court to make extraordinary revisions to the law four times.

The very first day I took up office, I received a flood of complaints about everything and everyone. A month later, there was another flood, this time a flood of complaints from people who had not received an answer

from me within the promised 1 month. Misunderstanding persists. It gives rise to various conflicts and is exacerbated by a false picture of a civic ombudsman as a person whose main task is to investigate every single letter, even those whose contents have nothing to do with the ombudsman's work.

The Civic Ombudsman Act is clear. It says that the ombudsman does not deal with every single issue, but only with those involving a violation of citizens' rights. The work of the ombudsman is not like that of a correspondence agency.

The institution of ombudsman is not meant to take the place of the administration or judiciary. The ombudsman cannot bypass them. Neither is he a lobbyist, for hire by any social group, association, or trade union. He does not gain access to difficult things and places by means of connections. Private disputes between people are outside his scope.

The ombudsman has the general duty to be on the side of the citizen. In order to avoid empty arguments about what is just, the spokesman pursues the principle that eliminating glaring cases of injustice is just.

The spokesman is not obliged to deal with every complaint he receives. Having received in a single year as many letters as the French mediateur has received during his entire 15 years of office, and with the same number of staff, I regret that I cannot promise speedy service on individual matters. I have to concentrate on typical, recurring errors in the legal system and in the functioning of the administration and state, as well as violations of the rights and dignity of citizens. Therefore, I react in drastic cases, and also in cases that involve a great number of people at the same time.

The number of complaints I receive in a single year is so huge that I can only deal with the most drastic ones, from a social point of view. I am sorry that I have not dealt with many cases and have not answered letters in time. The condition of the law and administration is such that a spokesman cannot deal with everything that he would like to and is able to deal with.

One-quarter of the complaints I received in my first year of office were against the judiciary (mainly against the harshness of sentences.) Another quarter were about social matters, pensions, and benefits. This category displays a growth trend. Citizens are worried that they are not receiving everything to which they are entitled. [passage omitted]

About one-fifth of the complaints I have received are on the subject of housing, one-eighth are on the subject of the environment, and another one-eighth are on the subject of economic and financial matters. [passage omitted]

The law involves principles and values, and not a literal interpretation of rules. But it takes a high degree of professionalism and, in order to understand this, a civic spirit on the part of those who make the law, and on the part of those who apply it. Otherwise, we will not have law and order, but bureaucratic legalism or legal anarchy.

Kwasniewski Statement on Nuclear Energy

AU0202170389 Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
27 Jan 89 p 5

[Statement given to *RZECZPOSPOLITA* by Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee, following a meeting of this committee on 26 January]

[Text] A great deal of emotion has built up around the question of nuclear energy and, unfortunately, a great deal of emotion as well. Society's emotion is understandable, especially in communities that are close to future nuclear power stations. Scientific circles are also divided in their assessments of the impact of nuclear energy on the environment and on the safety of citizens, and are in disagreement over the expediency of seeking alternative energy sources. Our aim during the meeting was to discuss these topics calmly with the relevant people, including experts from the IAEA.

One thing in Poland is certain. We need new energy sources. Our balance of energy also demands this. The possibilities are clear. Either we continue to expand coal mining and develop energy production based on this source, or we seek solutions based on nuclear technology. We think we should attempt these latter solutions, but only under complete security and with a complete awareness of its possible impact on the environment. Most of all, however, we must convince society that this devil is not so frightening, that nuclear energy is not as dangerous as it is made out to be. And that was the purpose of today's meeting.

Will the presence of international experts at this meeting convince people? I do not think one can dispel years of fear with just one meeting, however fruitful it is. However, I believe that when we have learned more and started to talk to the people involved, for example, the residents of Wronki, which is close to the site of the power station at Klemicz, we will succeed in obtaining rational views from the public. We do not wish to hide anything. The question of nuclear energy must be resolved. All its dangers and benefits must be revealed. But all this should take place during calm, businesslike discussions, during exhaustive exchanges of opinions. Only later can the essential decisions be taken. They will only be taken when it is certain that all the dangers that give rise to even the mildest of fears will be avoided.

State Council Appoints Ambassadors, Judges

AU3101151789 Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU*
in Polish 27 Jan 89 p 2

[Excerpts] PAP—The State Council held a meeting at the Belvedere Palace on 26 January. It examined the election programs of voivodship people's councils for the years 1988-92. [passage omitted]

The State Council appointed the following new ambassadors:

Jozef Filipowicz, to the post of PPR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Federal Republic of Nigeria; and Tadeusz Wujek to the post of PPR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. T. Wujek will combine this post with that of ambassador to Ethiopia (to which he was appointed in November 1988) and ambassador to the Yemen Arab Republic (to which he was appointed in December 1988).

The State Council accepted Leszek Brojanowski's resignation from the post of chairman of the Labor Protection Council, and appointed Włodzimierz Lubanski, OPZZ deputy chairman, to this post.

The State Council appointed two judges to the Supreme Administrative Court, 10 judges to voivodship courts, 64 judges to regional courts, and 1 judge to a military court.

Jozef Filipowicz was born in 1928 in Stanislawow, to a workers family. He studied at the higher school of economics in Szczecin and at the main school of planning and statistics in Warsaw, and then did postgraduate study at the higher school of social sciences. From 1948 onwards he was an activist in youth and student organizations. From 1957 to 1961 he was editor of the student weeklies *OD NOWA* [From the Start] and *ITD* [And So On]. He entered the foreign service in 1961, as first secretary and charge d'affaires at the Polish Embassy in Ottawa. From 1971 to 1975 he was ambassador to Nigeria, Niger, and Dahomey; and then, from 1979 to 1983, he was ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Iran. He has been departmental deputy director and director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Lately, he was adviser to the foreign minister.

He is a member of the PZPR.

Security Service Suspected of Spying in Austria

AU0102102389 Vienna *KURIER* in German
1 Feb 89 p 17

[Unattributed report: "Thirty-Six Persons Suspected of Espionage"]

[Text] The Polish Security Service, which was responsible for the killing of the Polish priest Jerzy Popieluszko in October 1984, has apparently also tried to form an

intelligence network in Austria. Since the seventies, contacts have been established with Poles living in exile, state police officers, and journalists through leading officers in the Polish Embassy in Vienna (Bogdan Maciborski, Zbigniew Nowak, Alfred Nosseck). Nosseck defected to the FRG last year and mentioned the names of 36 alleged contact persons in Austria. The investigating magistrate Herta Zauner is carrying out investigations against these persons (two-thirds of them Poles living in exile).

Five of the suspects, including a 76-year-old state police colonel, who retired in 1979, and a 44-year-old journalist, have admitted their contacts. The other members of the state police who were mentioned and another two journalists (including one woman) reject the allegations. The Polish Security Service wanted information from the Austrian state police about Polish asylum seekers in Vienna, and from the journalists information about Polish opposition members (including priests). Since 1978 at least one journalist has been blackmailed in an insidious manner with threats of murder against a woman, with secret documents that were smuggled into his luggage in Warsaw, and once even with a short arrest. When he announced that he would disclose everything after he had become seriously ill because of the strain on his nerves, it was made clear to him that it was easy to immediately gain access to the protocols of the Austrian state police. The journalist broke off his contacts with the Polish Security Service in 1986.

It will be difficult in this case to furnish evidence of "intelligence activities" against Austria that are liable to criminal prosecution. In the case of the state police colonel, the espionage activities are probably barred by limitation (5 years).

Catholic Daily on Possible Gorbachev-Pope Talks
AU0302120289 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish
30 Jan 89 pp 1, 4

[Antoni Kaplinski commentary: "The Official CPSU Central Committee Organ on the Subject of the Pope"]

[Excerpts] For the first time ever, the official CPSU Central Committee organ PRAVDA has devoted an entire page to Pope John Paul II, which it did in its 27 January issue. The exhaustive article also described an audience given by the Holy Father to a delegation from the Soviet Peace Committee, headed by A. Borovik, its chairman. This delegation also consisted of two other key members of this committee: V. Gubarev, the writer; and G. Grechko, the astronaut. The successor of St. Peter received this delegation on 16 January. [passage omitted]

There is no doubt that the PRAVDA article possesses a major political message. Last year there was no shortage of evidence indicating a mutual desire to hold a dialogue. Numerous indications of this state of affairs, for example the pope's remarks about perestroika and the democratization of life in the USSR, illustrated a positive assessment of Soviet policy and of its importance not only for the Soviet Union, but for the whole world.

A visit to Italy by M. Gorbachev is scheduled for November. A meeting between Pope John Paul II and the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman should be considered a certainty. Before then, there are bound to be a series of events which will help establish a suitable atmosphere for this meeting, so that this meeting can be described as a historic one later. We can assume that some time after this visit, there will be a visit by John Paul II to Moscow and a meeting between him and M. Gorbachev in St. Gregory's Hall in the Kremlin. Right now, Europe and the whole world are abandoning the "provoking of people by advocates of hatred." Dialogue, confidence, and a desire to cooperate may soon become the only reality in the final decade of the 20th century, and that is because a great world power is headed by a man who understands the basic imperatives of our times.

PEC Approves Delegation's Activity at CSCE
AU0302191889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1913 GMT 3 Feb 89

["The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP Approves of the Activity of the Romanian Delegation to the All-European Meeting in Vienna"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 03/02/1989—In its February 3 session, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP examined and approved a report on the Romanian delegation's participation in the all-European meeting in Vienna.

The Executive Political Committee considered that, true to their mandate the Romanian delegation actively promoted Romania's stance and President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook and considerations on security building and the strengthening of cooperation in Europe.

During that meeting Romania set forth a number of proposals and worked for the best understandings to be reached and for conditions to be created for a broad economic, technical, scientific and cultural collaboration between all the European peoples, irrespective of their social system. The Romanian proposals highlighted Romania's constant concern for the strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe, in the spirit and on the basis of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, for the building of a united Europe of peace and collaboration, of free and equal nations.

The final document of the Vienna meeting was shown to have included provisions whose translations into fact would contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and in the world, to better understanding and collaboration. The document in Vienna was also shown to have insufficiently reflected the fundamental questions related to human rights, such as the right to work, to education, to health care, to housing and others. In exchange, that document reflected positions that run counter to the Helsinki Final Act, to other international norms and regulations and paved the road to interference in the domestic affairs of other states. In consideration of all that, Romania—joining in the consensus to the adoption of that document—formulated reservations in an official statement.

Approving of the activity of the Romanian delegation to the all-European meeting in Vienna, the Executive Political Committee reiterated Romania's determination to intensify its efforts, to undertake new actions, to promote new initiatives and to cooperate closely with the other European states so as to provide for the development of a broad collaboration in all areas, for closer unity and solidarity among the countries on our continent, leading to each nation's socioeconomic progress, independence and sovereignty.

Review of Treaty Anniversary With USSR
AU0402155089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1246 GMT 4 Feb 89

["Marking 41 Years Since the Signing of the First Romanian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 04/02/1989—In commentaries marking the anniversary of 41 years since the signing of the first Romanian-Soviet treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance, the Romanian press underscores the special significance of the document which conferred a new content on the relations between the two countries and peoples, in the interests of building a new system, of international understanding and peace.

The treaty, SCINTEIA writes, sanctioned the traditional links of friendship between the peoples in the two countries that, living in good neighbourliness, had often cooperated in the fight for the attainment of their aspirations after freedom, progress and a better life. Once the people's power was established in Romania, the Romanian-Soviet relations of friendship, alliance and collaboration were raised to the rank of state policy. This new historical reality was mirrored in the Romanian-Soviet treaty which provided the proper framework for the manysided development of the Romanian-Soviet collaboration for more than two decades. In 1970 a new Romanian-Soviet treaty was signed which raised the collaboration between the two peoples on to a higher stage in the political, scientific, technical and cultural spheres, on the basis of the lasting principles of observance of national sovereignty and independence, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, reciprocal advantage and comradely mutual assistance. The indestructible binder of the Romanian-Soviet ties is the community of system and ideology, of major goals which guide the two parties and peoples in building socialism and communism.

SCINTEIA shows in its commentary: The special attention our party and state pay to the expansion of friendship and manysided cooperation with the Soviet Union as part of its general policy of developing relations with all the socialist countries, is a constant, defining trait of Socialist Romania's foreign policy. It found a consecration in the RCP programme and was reiterated in the document of the Thirteenth Party Congress.

As life itself shows, the links of friendship and solidarity between the leading forces in the two countries—the RCP and the CPSU, more particularly the summit meetings and talks have played a deciding role in the growth of Romanian-Soviet relations. Of great political significance was in this respect the official visit of friendship President Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu paid to the USSR last October, the interviews and talks with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev giving new perspectives to the Romanian-Soviet collaboration on all planes. On the line of carrying into effect the understandings reached between the leaders of the two countries, the economic collaboration has seen steady growth, as the USSR has constantly ranked first in Romania's external economic relations. In this framework further action is taken for the deepening and expansion of collaboration, the intensification of production specialization and cooperation in production, in

accordance with the provisions of the long-term programme till the year 2000. At the same time, collaboration in science and technology broadens, the exchanges of experience on a party and state line, on the line of mass and public organizations are stepped-up just as in various sectors of building the new system.

The development of the Romanian-Soviet relations is completed by the cooperation between Romania and the USSR in the international life, where the two countries manifest their solidarity with all the democratic and progressive forces, militating for the safeguarding of peace and a constructive solution to the major problems facing mankind nowadays.

On the anniversary of 41 years since the conclusion of the first treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance between Romania and the USSR, the Romanian people wish the Soviet peoples to score further outstanding achievements in implementing the 27th congress and the all-union conference of the CPSU, reiterating its conviction that the Romanian-Soviet ties of friendship and collaboration will see ever more powerful development, SCINTEIA shows in conclusion.

Venezuelan President Receives Radulescu
AU0402185789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1839 GMT 4 Feb 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu and Carlos Andres Perez Exchange Messages"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Caracas, AGERPRES, 04/02/1989—The president of the Republic of Venezuela, Carlos Andres Perez, received Gheorghe Radulescu, vice-president of the State Council of Romania, personal representative of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the ceremony of the inauguration of the new president of Venezuela.

On behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu and of Mrs Elena Ceausescu the president of the Republic of Venezuela, Carlos Andres Perez, and Mrs Blanca Rodriguez de Perez, were conveyed congratulations and wishes of good wealth, and the friendly Venezuelan people wishes of peace, progress and prosperity.

Romania's wish was expressed that the relations between the two countries further develop in all areas, in the spirit of the principles underlying the friendship and cooperation policy between Romania and Venezuela.

Thanking for the congratulations and wishes expressed, President Carlos Andres Perez requested that, on his own behalf and on behalf of Mrs Blanca Rodriguez de Perez, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu be conveyed sentiments of esteem and friendship, wishes of health and personal happiness, and the Romanian people wishes of prosperity.

Recalling the meeting and talks he had with the Romanian head of state in 1975, the president of Venezuela requested that his country's wish be conveyed to further work for the finding of ways and means for the development of bilateral ties on multiple planes, for a better cooperation in the international arena.

During his stay in Venezuela, Gheorghe Radulescu, vice-president of the State Council, had an interview with Octavio Lepage, president of the National Congress of Venezuela. He also met with Pompeyo Marquez, president of the Movimiento al Socialismo, Leopold Sucre Figarella, minister of state, president of the Venezuelan Corporation of Guyana as well as with Hugo Fomseca Viso, president of Fedecamaras, and other executives of that body.

Trade Union Plenum Sends Message to Ceausescu
AU0702134789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
2 Feb 89 p 5

["Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania, by the Participants in the Plenary Meeting of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions" held in Bucharest on 1 February]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: From the bottom of their hearts, the participants in the plenary meeting of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions [GURTU] express the will of the millions of working people and the members of the trade unions in our country and, with profound respect, deep gratitude, and the greatest feelings of esteem, high appreciation, and strong patriotic pride, pay ardent homage to you, the most beloved son of our people, the great strategist, founder of Socialist Romania, and the great hero among the heroes of our nation, whose name is inscribed forever in the history of our homeland and of the humanity, through everything you have done and are doing for the dignity and happiness of our whole nation, for Romania's independence and sovereignty, and for increasing our country's prestige throughout the world.

The plenary meeting holds its proceedings in a mobilizing atmosphere of ardent patriotic feelings, in which the workers class and our whole nation pay tribute to you on your birthday and to your long-standing revolutionary activity placed in the service of the high ideals of our nation and of the cause of socialism and peace in the world. With great responsibility and in a critical and self-critical way, the plenary meeting has examined the way in which the trade unions—under the leadership of the party bodies and organizations—worked to constantly mobilize the masses of working people to fulfill the plan provisions in conditions of increased efficiency, to actively participate, within the framework of the system of workers revolutionary democracy, in the implementation of the strategic objective of ensuring Romania's passage to a new stage, that of a medium-developed socialist country.

With good reason, the participants in the plenary meeting emphasized that the system of workers revolutionary democracy—formulated and institutionalized upon your initiative—is a unique system of its kind and in the current revolutionary process of socialist construction in our country has proved to be a strong force that mobilizes the

creative power of all working people and represents a qualitatively superior level of organization and management of our society and that dynamizes the development of our national economy and its qualitative features.

The participants in the plenary meeting of the GURTU Central Council consider that it is the duty of their hearts and conscience to stress with gratitude during the debates that, in the process of achieving the greatness of our socialist present—founded on socioeconomic progress and on the application of the latest discoveries of scientific and technical revolution in all branches of our economy—an outstanding contribution, with revolutionary enthusiasm, was made by Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, a scientist of world renown and a brilliant example of patriotic devotion for the well-being and happiness of our country, and of putting the discoveries of science and technology at the service of the people's right to peace, freedom, and progress.

The participants in the meeting highly value the highly humanistic policy promoted by our party and state, and your firm and constant concern with continuously improving the working and living conditions of the working people and of our whole nation and, on this occasion, they also expressed their profound gratitude and thanks for the new measures to increase pay and pensions, from which all working people throughout the country have benefited or will benefit.

We are fully aware that the only way to continuously improve the material and cultural standard of the working people is to increase the national income on the basis of increasing economic efficiency in all sectors of activity, and we pledge to you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that we will work most firmly and with utmost communist responsibility in our capacity as owners, producers, and end-users, to implement the tasks incumbent on our professional organization to the level of the current requirements.

In the spirit of the guidelines of exceptional pragmatic value worked out by you, the trade union bodies and organizations will focus on increasing the responsibility of all working people for strengthening, consolidating, and developing socialist property, the sole and sure foundation for the progress of our country and the prosperity of our people, and for the complete assertion of the workers class in the management of our society and in building socialism and communism in Romania.

The plenary meeting of the GURTU Central Council expressed the trade unions' determination to work unflinchingly to implement the foreign policy of our party and state, a policy that you have worked out and have promoted brilliantly and with exemplary consistency, a policy that is consistently aimed at finding solutions to the complex problems of international life, at achieving general disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and at building a new world economic order.

The participants in the plenary meeting and the whole aktiv of the trade unions assure you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu that, following your telling and brilliant example and responding to your ardent calls, we will do all we can so that the trade unions, under the leadership of the party bodies and organizations, fulfill the tasks incumbent on them in the current period and increase their contribution to the implementation of the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the Party National Conference.

SCINTEIA Reviews New Ceausescu Volume
AU0302212589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1959 GMT 3 Feb 89

["An Original Outlook on the Role of the Political Factor in the Development of Socialist Society"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 03/02/1989—In its 3 February issue SCINTEIA makes a survey of a new volume of the series "From the Philosophical Thinking of Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu" put out by the Political Publishing House and titled "The Role of the Political Factor in Social Development".

President Nicolae Ceausescu,—Associate Professor Dr Victor Duculescu, author of the survey, notes—attaches special importance to the role and significance of the political factor in social development as a dynamizing element, speeding up the development of contemporary society, more particularly the socialist one.

This outlook can be found in the fundamental thesis which defines the role of the Romanian Communist Party as a vital center of the nation, the author writes.

Next, the author shows: Our party general secretary underlines by scientific arguments that the whole experience of our society proves that the new system cannot be built without the party leadership, and it should exercise its leading role as an objective demand, as an essential prerequisite for the unfolding and assertion of the revolutionary process at new levels.

The experience of socialist construction eloquently proves the fact that, far from "diminishing" or "dispersing", the historic role of the working class and of its revolutionary party asserts itself at a higher level in the revolutionary process Romania is undergoing.

As the revolutionary process cannot be considered completed and new aspects occur continually while building the new system just as problems which must be solved in accordance with the revolutionary outlook on world and life, the ever stronger assertion of the party leading role is a vital necessity for the socialist construction and the building-up of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

The volume underlines the idea that the assertion of the party's leading role in the new conditions of the Romanian society calls for the direct commitment of cadres, of the party and state activists, of all communists in the translation into fact of the current programmes for the country's development. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted that the party's leading role is exercised from within society, that the party's strength and vitality are conditional upon its permanent links with the masses of working people.

Nicolae Ceausescu also has the merit of having underscored the exact dimension of the party-revolutionary worker democracy state correlation, of having cast light on the dialectical relationship between the party's leading role and the improvement of the revolutionary worker democracy system. A correct intertwining of the party's role with the growing responsibility and role of the state bodies, of the democratic organisms is a deciding factor in the successful attainment of the strategic target of the current stage—Romania's transition to a new, higher development level. The improvement of the unitary management of socialist society entails the diversification of the functions of the revolutionary worker democracy state, and the development of the system of the democratic bodies of working people in all sectors. The RCP's outlook on a unitary management of the socialist society points to the role of the national plan for a better organization and management of the national economy. The volume convincingly demonstrates that the improvement of management and planning in the current stage is based on the principle of harmonious blending of the role of the national plan, of unitary coordination with the broader economic and financial autonomy of the administrative and production units, with the strengthening of worker self-management and the self-financing of enterprises.

The system of revolutionary worker democracy, based on a real participation of the masses in management, on their effective drawing to discussing and solving problems, is in fact an expression of the thesis of building socialism with the people and for the people.

Elaborating a broadly prospective innovative outlook on the role of the political factor in social development, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu underscored the role of the mass and public organizations in the implementation of the party policy of building the multilaterally developed socialist society, cast light on the role of trade unions and of the youth and women organizations, the tasks of the creation unions, of the other mass and public organizations which are today plenarily committed to promoting the socialist society's system of value. An expression of the originality of the political system of the Romanian society is the foundation of the socialist democracy and unity front, a broadly representative forum, a telling proof of the democracy of our society. Eloquent is also the fact that the broadly democratic organization of the ones who are not party members—the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization—has now more than four million members.

The conception of great theoretical and practical significance of the party general secretary regarding the active role of the political factor in the contemporary Romanian society shows thorough understanding of the new realities of our society, of the demands of its perspective development which necessarily calls for scientific, consistently democratic and efficient character of the whole process of political government of our society. With an in-depth analysis of the phenomena in the Romanian society and with the demand of applying general laws to the specific conditions in our as a basis, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has the merit of having substantiated a clear, scientific harmoniously elaborated and structured conception of the role and functions of the political factor in the Romanian society today SCINTEIA winds up.

Socialist Ownership in Agriculture Noted
AU0202173989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1447 GMT 2 Feb 89

["The Socialist Ownership in Agriculture"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 2/2/89—On the eve of the completion of forty years since the beginning of agricultural cooperativization in Romania, daily SCINTEIA comes out with an article emphasizing the superiority and lastingness of socialist ownership in this important economic branch.

Now, that we have an impressive sum-up of the achievements in the Romanian agriculture, the daily writes, it can be demonstrated by facts that one of the great victories of our people in the years of socialism is the building of a modern socialist agriculture with permanently rising efficiency, relying upon the highest form of ownership, upon advanced technique and technology that are permanently improved. All these remarkable achievements are in fact a very telling proof of the correctness of our party's agrarian policy, of the superiority of socialist ownership in agriculture. Cooperativization was an in-depth revolutionary process that radically changed the type of ownership, the way of organization of the agricultural production and, last but not least, the farmer's thinking. Our party's experience in the socialist transformation of agriculture and the carrying through of a comprehensive policy of powerful development of farm production accounts for a great contribution to the treasure of thinking and practice of socialist construction.

Starting in the elaboration of its agrarian policy from the general truths of scientific socialism and creatively applying them, in harmony with the Romanian state's concrete social and economic conditions, the RCP designed in an original manner the socialist transformation of agriculture, based on the peasantry's free consent and with the participation of the broad masses of people. One of the elements of great importance of our party's experience is that by this the peasant was not estranged from the land and continued to consider it, also in the

new form of organization, as his most precious asset. It is worth mentioning that in the years of cooperativization—a process that took 14 years, the farm production in Romania did not drop, on the contrary, it rose, a fact which stands for the most telling argument in support of the interest and commitment with which the peasantry set to work in the new conditions of organization.

The dimension of the deep-going changes wrought in the years of socialist construction in agriculture is illustrated by the fact that Romania's farm production today is over ninefold bigger than in 1945. In the forty years that have elapsed since the beginning of agricultural cooperativization, the zootechnical production has considerably grown, its share being today of 45 per cent of the overall production. Thousands upon thousands of cooperative and state-run units have grown to reach unsuspected dimensions, both in point of production size, economic general level, and in point of the level of people's culture, instruction and welfare. The big progress marked by agriculture was achieved through comprehensive and steady programs of investments in the development of the technical-material base of this branch, through a higher degree of mechanization and chemicalization, vast works of land improvement, the updating of animal breeding and of the other compartments. The total funds earmarked in the years of socialist construction for the increase of the productive force of agriculture is in the neighbourhood of 600 billion lei. The firm and courageous promotion of the strategy of intensive development also has resulted in the technical revolutioning of agriculture, showing first of all in the higher technical level and chemicalization of production processes, in the building of a powerful technico-material base.

On this basis and with the quantitative accumulations in agriculture, the Romanian village itself has radically changed and the deepest change is in the very professional structure of the rural population, as medium- and highly-trained people carry more and more weight, which gives a new impulse to the general progress of rural localities.

Grasping the contradictions and shortfalls which prevented at a certain time the advance of this branch, the RCP elaborated and substantiated the concept of new agrarian revolution meant to secure the intensive and modern development of agriculture. The theory and practice of intensive development of agriculture has been reconsidered and action has been taken to achieve a dynamic balance between industry and agriculture as that the latter should become also a basic branch of the national economy.

The qualitatively superior stage the Romanian agriculture has stepped in requires initiatives to use to advantage the socialist property in agriculture, as proven by the big and constant productions in hundreds upon hundreds of farm units, in the increase of the technical equipment of agriculture, broad diversification of advanced technologies, SCINTEIA winds up and mentions that a special section

will be devoted to opinions, viewpoints on theoretical and practical problems on how action ought to be taken to make the best possible use of the socialist property, which rises superior to any other form of property, in the state and cooperative agriculture.

Improvement in Standard of Living Reported
AU0402185889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1812 GMT 4 Feb 89

["Romania: The Population's Higher Standard of Living in 1988"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 04/02/1989—1988 accomplishments in the development of material production and the rise in economic efficiency resulted in the formation of a national income worth 822.3 billion lei, which provided for the growth of the country's economic strength and for the Romanian people's greater welfare.

The 1988 pay fund for the working personnel amounted to 293.2 billion lei, that is 3.3 per cent higher than in 1987, primarily as a result of the measures taken to augment the working personnel's monthly tariff pays of up to 2,000 lei, over August 1-October 1, 1988, and of the pays ranging from 2,001 to 2,250 lei over November 1, 1988-January 1, 1989. The average net nominal tariff pay late in 1988 stood at 3,135 lei. By firmly applying the policy of price and tariff stability, a price and tariff index below the planned level was attained. The farmers' nominal incomes in cash and kind increased 2.2 per cent over 1987. In 1988, the average state social security pension for work done and for full length of service was 2.1 per cent larger than the previous year's.

An important role in the rise of the population's standard of living was played by the funds intended for sociocultural activities which totalled 118.7 billion lei in 1988. They provided for the development and updating of education, culture, health care, for child benefits and allowances, for pensions and for stipends for pupils and students, and for other supplements.

Retail sales through the socialist trade network were worth 292.5 billion lei, topping the 1987 mark. Furthermore, the value of paid services to the population, performed by socialist units, including transport activities, telephone and community services, increased 2.3 per cent over 1987 to stand at 70.6 billion lei.

Education of all grades continued to improve and was further updated, in line with the requirements for skilled labour in the national economy, all while the forms of integration of education into scientific research, production and sociopolitical practice diversified.

The education network now includes 27,975 units, of which 12,169 kindergartens, 13,768 primary schools and gymnasiums, 981 lyceums, 788 vocational schools, 225 foremen's schools, as well as 44 higher-learning institutes with 101 faculties.

The school-going population at the start of the 1988/1989 academic year stood at 5,562.6 thousand, accounting for 24.1 per cent of the country's population, of which 831.1 thousand preschoolers, 4,572.0 thousand pupils and 159.5 thousand students.

In line with the requirements for manpower, in 1988 the national economy was staffed with more than 340 thousand workers and skilled staff, all graduates of vocational schools, lyceums and higher-learning institutes. Furthermore, roughly 3.5 million working people attended brush-up and refresher courses.

Activities in the field of culture continued to expand and diversify. In 1988, 26 motion pictures and 589 documentaries, scientific and short-reel films were shot and more than 2,970 titles of books, newspapers, magazines and other publications were printed in over 1,480 million copies annually.

New hospitals, polyclinic-dispensaries and dispensaries became operational, all while further medical facilities were made available and the number of medical and nursing staff increased to contribute to the improvement of health care. The number of hospital beds reached 215.0 thousand in 1988, that is 9.3 beds in 1,000 inhabitants. Medical assistance was granted by 48.8 thousand physicians, of which 7.2 thousand stomatologists—with the population-to-physician ratio standing at 472-to-one—as well as by 135.2 thousand nursing staff. The technical and material base of tourism, of rest and of balneal treatment continued to develop and was further updated.

Settlement of International Disputes Viewed
AU0402180989 Buchrest AGERPRES in English
1336 GMT 4 Feb 89

["For the Negotiated Settlement of All Disputed Issues—Commentary in SCINTEIA of 4 February—excerpts" AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 04/02/1989—One of the basic orientations of the Romanian party and state foreign policy firmly and consistently promoted by President Nicolae Ceausescu is the consistent position on the elimination of the policy of force from the international life, the peaceful, negotiated settlement of all interstate disputed issues.

The recourse to force, to military means has never led and cannot lead to a real and lasting settlement of issues. This thesis is strongly proved by the international experience which shows that all the policy of force and wars have ever achieved was to complicate and aggravate problems, heighten distrust, compromise the future of interstate links for long periods and cause prejudices to peoples. Considering that nowadays a world war would inevitably turn into a devastating nuclear war which would end life on earth, negotiations are the only rational way conducive to durable settlements, meeting people's interests, the general interests of peace. Hence, in

all circumstance, no matter the place or time of a litigation or dispute, no matter its nature, Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu have been and worked energetically for their settlement by negotiations.

Naturally, given the complexity of some issues, talks cannot always offer quick solutions and obstacles emerge on the way to understanding which may be hard to overcome. But what is important, according to the new thinking advocated by the Romanian head of state, is that the parties work patiently and perseveringly to help smooth the way toward understanding. Even if negotiations take time, compared to casualties and damage caused by wars, no matter how long or difficult they may be, they are the only rational alternative.

In this spirit, Romania has carried out a wide-ranging international activity for the assertion of the method of negotiations, for the peaceful resolution of interstate conflicts or differences. This activity finds expression in multiple ways of action: firm condemnation and disapproval of any aggressive acts, of the use of force; insistent appeals to put an end to fights immediately, to halt any outside interference; calls to reconciliation of all national political and social forces, to eliminate their divergencies; inception of negotiations for the settlement of litigious issues; affirmation of the imperative to observe each people's freedom and independence their inalienable right to develop freely and self-reliantly, excluding any outside interference.

In tune with these positions in principle, Romania's president made and makes persevering efforts, undertook and undertakes widely-acclaimed demarches for the settlement of conflicts in various parts of the world considering the existing conditions.

It is a fact that lately a number of positive developments have been recorded along the path of settling some of the conflicts existing in various zones of the world. Along this line fall the cessation of the military hostilities between Iraq and Iran, the conclusion of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the accords on solving the questions of South-West Africa, the negotiations between the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus, some contacts for settling the state of conflict in South East Asia, etc.

Romania has welcomed and supported the above-said positive events. As is known, Romania attaches special importance to the situation in the Middle East, speaking up permanently for a negotiated solution—with the participation of all the parties concerned—to the existing problems, in keeping with the interests of all the states and peoples in the region. The Romanian Government has acknowledged the creation of the independent Palestinian state—Palestine, and has welcomed the political declaration of the Palestinian National Council which expresses the wish that work were done to solve politically the Middle East questions in the spirit of and on the grounds offered by resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council; implicitly the acknowledgement of the

Israeli state concomitantly with the acknowledgement of the independent Palestinian state. At the same time Romania has spoken up for a long time and firmly supported the organization of an international conference under UN aegis with a view to a peaceful, global and lasting solution to the Middle East problems.

In Romania's opinion the principle of negotiations applies not only to international conflicts or differences. Romania also works for the negotiated settlement of such questions as halting the arms race and passing on to disarmament—a fundamental issue of our epoch, for eradicating the continuously growing gap between the poor and the industrial countries, for solving the foreign debt issue which affects gravely the third-world countries, speaking up for the organization of an international conference in which all the states should participate on an equal footing for building a new international economic order which should provide progress and prosperity to all the nations.

Romania has paid special attention to legally enforcing the principle of renunciation of force, to consolidating the procedures of peaceful settlement. It thus assigns a particularly important part to the United Nations Organization, called by the very provisions in its charter to work by all means for a peaceful settlement of all the differences emerging among states. Romania's writing down the item "the peaceful settlement of international differences" since as early as 1979, the endorsement by consensus, again at Romania's initiative, of the "declaration on the peaceful settlement of the interstate differences" and later of the "solemn appeal" to all states in the world that are involved in conflicts to immediately halt the armed actions and to solve the issues between them by way of negotiations, and of the commitment of the UN member states to settle in this way the states of tension and conflict, any divergence between them, and the proposal to set up a special good-offices, mediation or conciliation body, have set out precisely from the need to use to better account the possibilities offered by the world organization.

No doubt, as pointed out by Romania's president, one should not forget that the international situation continues to be complex, contradictory and grave. Setting out from this fact, in the address he made at the celebration of his birthday and longstanding revolutionary activity, President Nicolae Ceausescu once more movingly called for a union of the efforts of all the forces with a view to solving in a new, democratic way the great problems currently confronting mankind, to eliminating for good the policy of force, for solving all the issues exclusively by peaceful means, through negotiations, with the unflinching observance of the peoples' right to free and independent development.

Daily Comments on 'Decolonization Decade'
AU0302133189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1228 GMT 3 Feb 89

["The Decolonization Decade—An Initiative in Agreement With Contemporary Demands"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 03/02/1989—A commentary on the UN General Assembly's decision to proclaim the closing ten years of the century "the decolonization decade" in SCINTEIA of 3 February shows among other things: In the spirit of its high-principled policy of solidarity with the cause of peoples' independence, Romania has always been on the side of peoples fighting for liberation. A co-sponsor of the declaration on decolonization and a political and moral supporter of the national liberation movements to which it also provided assistance, Romania, welcomed the formation of new independent states.

The resolution under which the nineties are proclaimed "the international decade for the eradication of colonialism" restate the incompatibility of colonialism in all its forms with the UN charter.

Political independence was and is an essential, basic condition for the peoples' free and self-reliant development. However, the whole course of international life shows that, for political independence to be real, all forms of foreign exploitation and oppression should be eliminated, and economic independence strengthened. But the ex-colonial powers, large monopolies in general are known to try by all means to maintain the former colonies in a state of dependency by continuing to assign them to the role of raw materials suppliers. Furthermore, by virtue of their leading positions in the world market, big monopolies tell the Third World countries not only what and how much to produce, but also at what price to sell, which drastically cuts their export earnings. The burdensome foreign debt, the service of which far exceeds the level of export earnings in many cases slows down economic growth.

It is precisely in consideration of these dramatic realities that Socialist Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed and stresses that to really be effective political decolonization should be paralleled by economic decolonization. [sentence as received] In this light, the importance of the UN decolonization decade lies more in providing conditions for economic decolonization to be real, in eradicating underdevelopment and building viable economies in newly independent states, rather than in terminating the colonial status of almost twenty small territories. In that way, the achievement of a new international economic order that Romania has favoured and for which it has taken firm action is a basic condition for the progress of these countries and, in the last analysis, for the decolonization process to be completed.

Capitalists 'Drain' Third World Resources
AU0102105789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1010 GMT 1 Feb 89

["For Removing the Causes of Growing Economic Disparities Among States"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 1/2/1989—Deep concern for the persisting crisis phenomena in the world economy that tend to become acute, for the continuing deterioration of the economic position of the developing countries in the eighties was again voiced by President Nicolae Ceausescu in a recent speech at his birthday and long revolutionary activity celebration. In the view of the RCP general secretary, one of the principal factors that works in that direction are the spoliatory policies pursued by developed capitalist countries, international financial capital and transnational monopolies, which resulted in huge foreign debts and blocked economic and social progress in developing countries.

To overcome the crisis, resume productive activities in general and find solutions to the complex economic problems in today's world require, in the opinion of the president of Romania, broad interstate cooperation on new principles—of full equality and equity.

The erosion of the economic position of the developing countries, the widening gulf that separates them from the developed states are the result of their neocolonialist exploitation, of unfair economic relations that were imposed on them by big monopolies and international financial capital. The developed capitalist states and transnational corporations have systematically pursued to rob the developing countries of their resources. This shows among other things in the heavy transfer of resources from developing countries to developed capitalist states in the financial, commercial and technological fields, as well as in the artificial restrictions on trade with the developing countries.

President Nicolae Ceausescu underscores in his speech that every year scores of billions of dollars go from developing to developed states in various forms, which further widens the gap between poor and rich countries. A number of internationally sponsored studies show that a highly inequitable international economic and financial system is behind the paradoxical situation of rich countries being financed by the poor. For the first time since the end of the colonial era, the underdeveloped world as a whole acts again as a net supplier of resources to developed countries.

Credit operations act as the main drain of the financial resources of developing countries. As a result of the high foreign debt service chiefly through higher interest rates and smaller new credits, the financial flows from the developing countries to repay the foreign debt by far exceed the financial flows into them through new credits.

Another main drain of the financial resources from developing countries to developed capitalist countries are the profits of transnational companies.

The net outflow of the financial resources of developing countries is paralleled by a net transfer of their resources through trade and the transfer of technology. A deterioration of the trading position of the developing countries is behind the net transfer of their resources. The price of

commodities traded by developing and developed capitalist countries is influenced not only by demand and offer, but also by the manoeuvres of big monopolies which, taking advantage of their economic power, tend to keep the prices of raw materials as low as possible while boosting the prices of manufactures.

The flow of trained personnel from the Third World into the capitalist states is another inadmissible transfer of resources from poor to rich countries. This brain drain from developing countries is particularly harmful, because it slows down their technological and scientific progress, and makes them more technologically dependent on developed countries. At the same time, luring trained personnel from developing countries gives the capitalist countries a number of advantages: They spend less to train their own specialists, are in a position to fill the gap in skilled labour in some areas, and to have a higher technological and scientific creative potential. For all these reasons, brain drain is a neocolonialist form of exploitation of developing countries.

Furthermore, significant losses are posted by developing countries through the protectionist, often discriminatory, measures taken by developed capitalist states. These measures considerably limit the exports of developing countries to developed markets which in many cases trigger lower export prices. Large subsidies in the developed capitalist countries to promote their exports, mainly agricultural, artificially depress world prices, of the exports of the developing countries included.

In that way, the developments in the world economy fully support the realism of President Nicolae Ceausescu's assessments that an end should be put to the present international economic and financial situation, particularly to the policy of draining the developing countries of their resources, that action should be taken for a global settlement of the very serious problems of the world economy, of the developing countries foreign debt included. For that purpose, the president of Romania proposed that an international conference be called at the United Nations in which developing and developed countries should take part on equal terms to strike agreements paving the way for the eradication of underdevelopment, and for the building of a new world economic order.

Ships Readied for Export to Foreign Companies
AU0802111289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0931 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 8/02/1989—The first ship of this year's plan delivered to export by the collectivity at the shipyard in Oltenita is a 3,300-dwt cargoship. Owing to the application of a programme of modernizing fabrication processes conducive to a substantial increase of work productivity, the shipbuilders could deliver their products a month in advance of the planned term. Also delivered in advance was a 5,000-dwt motorship for foreign beneficiaries. The shipbuilders in Oltenita set themselves to deliver each ship for export at least 15 days in advance of the contract terms and they prepare a premiere: the manufacture of the 5,000-hp rescue tugboat now in an advanced stage of fabrication.

LCY Vote on Vlasi, Siroka, Dolasevic Detailed
AU0702200289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
3 Feb 89 p 5

[Report on statement by Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, during a vote at the 20th LCY Central Committee session on the report of the responsibility of Azem Vlasi, Kolj Siroka, and Svetislav Dolasevic in Belgrade on 1 February]

[Text] If there are no remarks about the report, I shall then put it to a vote. Bukovcan has proposed that the last paragraph of the report be omitted because it suggests ideopolitical measures, and what we need to do here is establish political responsibility. Let those who support Comrade Bukovcan's proposal raise their hands.... (after the votes have been counted) It is obvious that a minority opposes this; thus a considerable majority has voted in favor of omitting the paragraph.

Now I put the entire report to a vote. Will the Central Committee adopt the report drawn up by the working group for establishing the responsibility of Comrades Azem Vlasi, Kolj Siroka, and Svetislav Dolasevic?

I proclaim that the report has been adopted with 13 opposing votes. According to the LCY Statute, when this report is adopted, all the requirements have been met to relieve Kolj Siroka, Svetislav Dolasevic, and Azem Vlasi of their membership in the LCY.

Since people are relieved of their membership in the Central Committee by secret ballot, the working Presidium of the Central Committee suggests that we set up a 5-member commission to conduct the vote. We suggest the following members of the Central Committee as members of the commission: Boris Muzevic to head of the commission, and Muhiba Kulovic, Vojislav Knazevic, Nerandza Jovanov, and Anton Lukezic as the members.

Statutory Commission Clarifies Rules on Vote
AU0802131889 Belgrade Borba in Serbo-Croatian
4-5 Feb 89 p 11

[D.B. report: "They Are Not, But it Seems as if They Are"]

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Feb—The ballot on relieving members of the LCY Central Committee of their membership at the 20th party plenum was in accordance with the statute and was valid.

This was stated in the explanation of Andrej Kardelis, secretary of the LCY Statutory Commission, given to BORBA and TANJUG following the media's dilemma about the validity of the outcome of the ballot on Kolj Siroka.

The explanation of Andrej Kardelis, secretary of the LCY Statutory Commission, reads: "Article 36 of the LCY Statute states that the decision of the LC organs is

valid if the session is attended by at least two-thirds of the members of the organ, and if more than one-half of the total number of members cast a vote.

"The 13th LCY Congress elected a Central Committee of 165 members. This means that the quorum required for the work is 110 members, and that at least 83 of the 165 members have to cast their vote in order for the decisions to be valid, regardless of whether the LCY Central Committee is complete at a particular time or not.

"This method was used, which is in accordance with Article 36 of the LCY Statute, at the 13th LCY Congress, and at the just ended 20th plenum during a vote on whether to relieve some members of their membership in the LCY Central Committee.

"The total number of the LCY Central Committee members is the number decided on by the electoral body. In this case, this was the 13th LCY Congress, which decided that the LCY Central Committee should consist of 165 members. According to Andrej Kardelis, this number should always be applied. The LC is authorized, and one could say obliged, to elect up to one-third of its members. From the very narrow statutory point of view, the number of the LCY Central Committee members in theory could be reduced from 165 to 110, and still retain the present method of voting, as if the Central Committee consisted of 165 members, although it actually would not. [no closing quotes as published]

This unusual situation stems from the fact that decisions, if they are to be valid, require a two-thirds majority vote in the LCY Central Committee, that is, if a decision is to be adopted, it requires the vote of a qualified [kvalifikovan] majority. This refers to a set number (165), rather than to the number of the present LCY Central Committee members. The "decisive" number is 83 votes in favor.

Insisting on these numbers stems from the understanding that this would retain quality and at the same time provide a guarantee, in the political and personal sense, that the decision will be made by the people elected by the congress.

Answering the question about the LC attitudes toward the fact that the present organ consists of fewer members than the organ which the congress elected, Kardelis said that between the Central Committee sessions, if the number of members is reduced, there is a process of filling the vacant places. This process lasts a long time because the candidates are first discussed by the republican, provincial, or Army LC organizations which propose these candidates. The list of the candidates is then sent to the LCY Central Committee Presidium. From there, this list is sent to the republican and provincial committees for consultations. After the list had been

adopted, it is sent to the LCY Central Committee for a discussion, after which the LCY Central Committee decides by secret ballot who will be a new member(s).

Dimitrovic Speech on Party Resignations

AU0702201089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
3 Feb 89 p 3

[Speech by Drago Dimitrovic, secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Croatia, at the 20th LCY Central Committee session in Belgrade on 1 February]

[Text] The reason I wanted to speak is that, be it consciously or unconsciously, our debate here is focused on people. What is involved here is not the people, but ourselves—the Communists, the LCY, we who are in this hall, and the relationship among us. It would be totally unnecessary and counterproductive not to take into consideration everything that has been said about the troubles in Montenegro and in other parts of our country which provoked broad discontent among the people, and about all these spontaneous ways and other forms of expressing this discontent, these forms that are the basis of our crisis and which show themselves to be its harshest aspect. In this respect, we have nothing to reproach the people for. However, we have to ask ourselves the following: Are these discussion forums of ours, these places where we talk, are they in fact places where we coordinate our views about the policy for which we will bear joint responsibility, or are they only places that offer us the chance to act in the way that suits us here or elsewhere? It seems to me that when our policy obviously fails in some points, the LCY's responsibility for this country's fate obliges us to admit that we had participated in the creation or implementation of that policy and to render account for failures and defeats.

I cannot agree with the remarks some comrades here have made about what in my opinion was Comrade Zarkovic's and Comrade Orlandic's honorable and reasonable approach to the crisis and the demands of the public. I think that many uncritical things have been said. It seems to me, in fact, that there was an attitude unsuitable to the party—at least according to my idea of membership in this organization—because it seems to be starting from the thesis that we are not proponents of the same policy. If I may say so, and I hope that being a Yugoslav Communist I may, I feel this movement's problems and defeats to be a part of my own failures. If I have to be relieved of my duties or to accept the resignation of those people who have fallen, then I am doing so because I understand that this could mean a chance for the movement to be more successful. I can by no means understand this as settling accounts with these people.

LCY Central Committee Plenum Assessed

AU0802170389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
4 Feb 89 p 17

[Danilo Slivnik commentary: "Marathon Runners Run in a Vicious Circle"]

[Text] If, during the television broadcast of the marathon LCY Central Committee session, Vladimir Mayakovsky's well-known idea came to your mind—"Let us call a meeting to abolish all meetings"—you certainly were not alone in this thought. There were many of such people in the very federal assembly building where the session was held this time who were continuously walking in and out of the hall, standing in front of the television monitors in the lobby, and ambling through the corridors, cafeterias, and surrounding offices, wondering in surprise that this is at all possible.... However, it was possible, as you have seen, because the session dragged on for 3 long days and it was almost impossible to determine how many words were spoken unnecessarily and how many times it was eloquently shown that many people did not know what they wanted to say.

However, this was only partially true, because in the lobbies the members spoke about their real demands quite openly, but they somewhat mollified them or completely abandoned them, as often happens in socialism. It is therefore, no wonder that the session did not get going at the beginning, and the more time passed, the greater the contradiction between the expectations and actual facts. For instance, at one moment one could hear in the lobbies that Stipe Suvar was about to speak out and give Milosevic what he deserved, but the people who had asserted this denied everything only moments after, saying that Suvar had changed his mind and he would do it the next day. On another occasion, Suvar himself announced that after the break he would ask the Serbian leadership itself to assume caring for Kosovo if that province was all that important to Serbia, but he did not do so. Later, the Serbs started rumors to the effect that they were worried about the intentions of the Croats and they would rather strike first, but this also failed to occur. In brief, something was hanging in the air all the time, but at the same time it was always more or less clear that at least some of these predictions were mere provocations and that all the chief protagonists used lobby diplomacy in order to extend some control over the events in the great hall.

We would not wish to make excuses for anybody or to present the 20th LCY Central Committee session in a better light than it appeared, because the crisis of the political organization, that for years has held all the power but has never been able to use it properly, was manifested at this session in its full proportions. For instance, during these 40 long years, it hardly changed in an organizational sense. All this time it has filled its cadre needs according to extremely dubious principles such as "he is a reliable man," or even, "he really does not have a clue, but he is our man." Politically, it

behaved as if social vision was given to a party once and for all and as if nobody else in the country was able to use his brain. No, we also do not wish to exaggerate or to present its crisis in colors darker than they really are, but it is a fact that in many respects the LCY is in a position in which it cannot resolve even some of its internal problems and in which the more it tries to extricate itself from difficulties, the more it gets bogged down in its past.

Now, of course, it is not for us to predict the LCY's long-term fate or the development of its parts, but we are interested only in the question of what the denouncement at the session means for the momentary equilibrium between its several parts and whether the LCY has, as an entity, an opportunity to be truly transformed into a modern and effective political party or league. Any way we look at the matter, we must note that the situation in the LCY ranks is even more complicated than it was before the session, and that some retrograde processes in the LCY have only gotten deeper.

We are not only thinking of the peculiar spirit that prevailed at the session and that in some respects recalled the atmosphere of a classic Bolshevik settling of accounts in which militant individuals always easily abandoned their colleagues and, if need be, "even kicked their dead bodies." We have in mind the entire situation arising in the party after this session. It heralds that anything may happen to the party now. It may fall apart completely, or conservative and dogmatic forces may prevail in all its parts, or it may persist in its passive equilibrium for a long time, or it may even become thoroughly democratic.

In fact, the actual situation most favors a long-term passive equilibrium, with strong tendencies toward a further bolshevization of the LCY, or even its complete (which is to say, even formal) destruction rather than its democratization. It is a fact that those parts of the LCY that rally around the authoritarian Serbian leadership and search for their renewal through some kind of a mixture of nationalism and social egalitarianism, as well as among semi-intellectuals, lumpen proletarians, and representatives of other similar social strata, have not been stopped in any significant respect. And it is a fact that none of the chief protagonists in the political conflict, who had been preparing for weeks, did what he said he would do. It will probably remain obscure for some time why, for instance, Stipe Suvar, who was on the brink of losing his position, did not lay his cards on the table at the session; and the same applies to Marko Orlandic and Vidoje Zarkovic, who after their resignations had announced on several occasions that they would completely expose the background of some of the latest political events in the country, but who did not do so to such an extent.

Thus the realization remains that almost all the participants at the session were two-faced to a considerable extent and that many behaved like the well-known

Kovacevic's heroes in the play [Marathon Runners Run a Lap of Honor, by Dusan Kovacevic], who are known to have had incessant quarrels but who always found a common language when family interests were at stake.... Of course, we do not think that anybody should see himself in the play the Marathon Runners now, but it is a fact that the spirit of Panteleon's [character in the play] testament was dangerously in circulation even after the 20th LCY Central Committee session, because the session demonstrated that the cult of a "plenum" is still very much alive in the minds of all their members and that under its influence, people do quite extraordinary things. They attack each other, raise their hands even when they are not quite convinced that it is necessary, pretend that they do not hear anything, and if need be, calmly sacrifice a person so that they may at least provisionally secure their position and preserve some sort of equilibrium at the top of the party. Thus, we can calmly say that precisely this disposition of the Central Committee members—which is basically deeply undemocratic, and is most frequently a consequence of lack of education, lack of knowledge, and of a wrong cadre selection over many years—has chiefly contributed to the fact that the session was so dismal and that the participants could not resolve even those problems on which they had no ideological prejudices and which even agreed with their political interests. There is no need even to draw attention to the fact that this is also the reason for the LCY crisis in general and for the economic catastrophe which has enveloped Yugoslav society after 40 years.

Of course, we can look at the development of the 20th LCY Central Committee session from another angle, too, noting that some demands by the authoritarian wing of the LCY were not accepted and that the pressure to begin calling Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee, to account was stopped particularly quickly. Such views are rather relative, however, because they are linked only to the momentary composition of the LCY Central Committee, but this composition will be completely renewed probably very soon. We must not forget that despite all the objections (and after a secret ballot) two Kosovo members were dismissed from the Central Committee: Azem Vlasi and Svetislav Dolasevic, two men who many were saying immediately before the vote was announced that this could not happen to them. It did happen, and especially Vlasi was visibly shocked by the dismissal because he thought all along that he had a majority in the Central Committee on his side.... Along with the said Bolshevik reflexes of many Central Committee members, this of course went to show even more that under the Yugoslav party conditions, principled and unprincipled coalitions are a very relative affair and that everybody who wants to survive should in the future probably rely on himself alone.

Therefore it is no wonder that one of the main political subjects discussed in the assembly lobbies throughout the entire 20th plenum was precisely who in fact supports whom in the Central Committee at the moment,

and what the alliances could be among the fairly clearly defined party wings in the LCY tomorrow. Suvar and Milosevic were only apparently the greatest personal adversaries, but otherwise the political polarization was much sharper between the Slovene and the Serbian views, while those who should be filling the space between were constantly adjusting their stances and reactions to the situation of the moment or to quite specific interests in individual questions. To a great extent this also applied to the Croats; for instance, it became quite clear after the vote on the expulsion of the three Kosovo representatives that at least some Croatian delegates were against Vlasi and Dolasevic, because the two could not have been expelled without their votes. In addition, the Croatian delegates attracted the attention of many people during the discussion of the report of the commission that examined the political responsibility of the three Kosovo members, for in fact none of them took part in the discussion although it was very stormy and everybody could understand that it dealt with matters of principle and that an excessively conciliatory attitude toward the Serbian requests for the expulsion of some officials could start a "political differentiation" in the federal Central Committee to copy the example of the differentiation that started in Serbia after the Eighth session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, which later spread outside Serbia. Croatian journalists themselves even said that in his opening report Stanko Stojcevic did not fully present the stances of the Croatian plenum; and the same was said to apply to Veselin Vukotic, new Montenegrin coordinator.

Perhaps it will seem strange to some people, but after everything that happened at the 20th LCY Central Committee session, it is almost impossible to shed the impression that the several parties from the very beginning did not intend to enter some conflicts and that the general uncertainty at the session calmed down much sooner than was to be expected. General tension prevailed only between Suvar and Milosevic all the time, for they began to glance at each other suspiciously and nervously immediately one of them asked to speak; all the other accusations, as sharp as they might occasionally have been, passed them over as if they had never been spoken. Slobodan Milosevic jumped to his feet only after he was directly challenged by Ivo Druzic, while Stipe Suvar never reacted to direct challenges. In brief, the Serbs were specially prepared only for the Croats, and the Croats for the Serbs, and once it became clear that it would not yet be possible to remove Suvar from his post this time, their direct polemics were very quickly ended. The matters even went so far that the Serbs were not unduly worried by the criticism of the Slovenes; for instance, Boris Muzevic spoke very sharply about Milosevic, but Milosevic's representatives and he himself calmly tolerated it, obviously reckoning that it is not yet the time for the clash between Slovenia and Serbia. Along with their pressure on Suvar, they were essentially aiming chiefly to square their accounts with Vlasi, Dolasevic, and Siroka; and they used any means they could think of.

And what can we say at the very end? Everything was not all that bad, for finally it was shown for the first time that great differences exist in the LCY Central Committee and that nobody tried to remove these differences by force (at least not for the time being). If we exclude the most extreme (but by no means unrealistic) possibility that the LCY may break up into two or three parts, the most significant point is the realization that the time of great battles is coming in the LCY Central Committee, and the so-called Yugoslav synthesis will depend on them most. It is, of course, also a significant realization that this Yugoslav synthesis can be won only by those wings or republican organizations that will have the most effective members in this Central Committee. Of course, we do not think that there are no such members among the Slovene representatives at this moment, but this criterion will have to be one of the most important ones during the renewal of the LCY Central Committee membership.

Reasons for Postponement of 20th Plenum Pondered
AU0202190989 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
25 Jan 89 p 1

[Vlado Rajic commentary: "Postponement"]

[Text] The postponement of the 20th Yugoslav Central Committee Plenum, explained by a need for "thorough preparations," shows the depth of the rift in its leadership much better than all the LC's discussions do.

Is what is involved a clash over the introductory speech which the much-attacked Stipe Suvar is supposed to write and read (as was announced)? Will the time until Monday be really used to just prepare for the session or will that time be used for "non-session" activities? Was there no indication that mass pressure was aimed at achieving one single outcome from the events at Sava Center planned for Wednesday as well? How certain can one be that during these days the people will not "appear on the scene" in some other places too, so that any future vote in the Central Committee will have an assured majority and, therefore, an assured outcome as well?

These are serious times. The aggressive strategy of breaking up the system, organs, forums, and officials very much favors two extremes: increasing the tension to the point of explosion, and also strengthening the charisma of a person behind whom there is already support. The people? There is no doubt about the creation of the impression of the popular unity around a single program and a single man, where the program is fictitious and the man is reality. Is it possible that now, after the former monolithic system of values has fallen apart, only one part has eliminated all the pluralist versions and has done so on the basis of the plan and platform of national concord, the concord around one leader? What mistakes did the others, who have been reexamining everything in

the name of a more efficient way to respond to the crisis in the future, make? Was it in their refusal to inaugurate their own leaders? Or was it something else, or something entirely different?

The postponement of the plenum is a concession to deeply rooted extremes. Everything is known, and most plenum speeches have already been written. Did not the Presidium as the organizer, the Central Committee as the discussion forum, and Suvar as the moot point of the conflict, not accept too big a risk?

Commentary Views Upcoming 21st LCY Plenum
AU0802152889 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
4 Feb 89 p 3

[Vlado Rajic commentary: "What Sort of 21st Step—or Double Step?"]

[Text] What looked at the 17th session like a step away from the federalization of the LCY clearly showed itself at the 20th session, from the speeches of the nine presidents of the republican and provincial organizations and the LC organization in the Yugoslav People's Army to the course and meaning of the debate, to be a step toward the consolidation of federal party relations. This logic did not allow the debate to reach a clearer Yugoslav party synthesis in which space would be opened up in other areas of economic and political life for something other than the present crisis stalemate.

Bogdan Trifunovic used the plenum's rostrum to call on the public (and not just the party public) to vote on the results of the ballot on the dismissal of Siroka, Dolasevic, and Vlasi, as "the normal result" of the situation in the LCY Central Committee. Translated, this means that in the name of the blamelessness of one, all other leaderships were again accused of separatism and of hindering the Kosovo denouement. And again no one in the hall reacted to this call, even though the details of the 2 and 1/2-day debate and especially the actual results which marked the exit of Vlasi and Dolasevic from the Central Committee offered reasons for intervention. You remember that at the 17th session a similar call for a vote by the people was made by Slobodan Milosevic after Dusan Ckrebic failed to receive a vote of confidence. What happened after that? There was the 20th session at which the unimplemented conclusions of the 17th session were discussed under pressure from the public who had entered the scene in the meantime. Will the plenum scheduled in 15 days' time also absolve the new pressure from those "called to vote?"

The proposal that the reasons be brought onto the open stage was barely squeezed into the first point of the conclusions which were unusually short and unexpectedly precise. How strong is the Central Committee for it to stand firmly behind them and to guarantee in the established "truce" not only that they will be implemented but also to guarantee time, not for political attitudes in some party communities to appear on the

scene, but for the specific economic and political results of these attitudes to finally do so? So by comparing them, it could be seen to what extent each program is really effective as regards the market and the party. This would put an end to the insistence on party consensus on drafts, which only creates room for additional "spontaneous" political violence in which the people are the lever.

In preparation for the 21st session, one should therefore take into consideration that the resonance of the shouting of political slogans is heard further afield than the advocacy of painstaking developmental programs. What could happen at this plenum? Could the 20th session be repeated? Could there be another version of the 17th session? Could there be new votes which would open up new disputes because of, among other things, the noticeable fear in a part of the LC that its turn could finally come? It is not very probable that a long-lasting truce could be reached during which conditions would be created for a fight over the results of the first point of the conclusions and not a fight between leaders. One could say with even more doubt that the plenum will be held according to the idea of "calling a spade a spade." This last thing is certain because of the atmosphere in which some "spades" already have the people behind them and quickly react in order to transfer their own inability and its negative assessment (in particular) onto the assessment of the entire peoples. They are not bothered by the fact that party members make up only about 10 percent of these peoples.

If so much is being said about the accountability of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, then the 21st session should very precisely analyze the situation in this organ so that it is known even during the preparatory stage why something was rejected at presidium sessions, who voted "for" and who "against," and with what reason. This should even go as far as the banal situation of establishing who takes part in the work of the sessions and who goes to them only at times when a whole matter should be undermined (which has already been registered). The slamming of doors at these sessions also has a political meaning because not everyone does it. Therefore a major step forward would be made by demystifying those agreements made in the Presidium and the clarity with which the Central Committee should once again acquaint itself. The latest session showed that even in the most intransigent concepts and homogeneous party delegations in the Central Committee there are traces of the cracks of the first doubts. At the moment they are only wrapped in political cellophane or in the silence of individuals.

One should consider the results of the secret ballot in this light. It is well known how the homogeneity of certain communities was reached. The secret ballot was an occasion for people to nevertheless vote according to their consciences because their professional and personal integrity was covered by unsigned ballot papers in the ballot box. Those who attempted to show that they think differently have already been removed. The 21st plenum

will do a lot if it encourages those with different views to speak up, in the same way that the former Kotor President Andjelko Kovacevic and the miner Ahmet Mehovic reported on the democratic processes in Montenegro. It is time that the Central Committee stood on the side of its members and followed what happens to them after they denounce something at the sessions, which they have not done in many cases so far.

BORBA Views Declining LCY Membership
*AU2501183989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
21-22 Jan 89 p 4*

[Dusan Drazic report: "Competition for New Communists"]

[Text] We have reached the point where Communists are turning their party membership cards in large numbers, and this is mainly happens among the ranks of Serbs and Montenegrins. This situation is rapidly leading to the disintegration of the LC. These serious and worrying messages were stated the middle of last week at the session of the Pristina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, at which cadre renewal in the party was discussed.

The return of party membership cards in large numbers is a sentence which is being repeated like a refrain in other communities as well, and which has prompted us to look at statistical and other indicators and find an answer to the question: To what extent does the political, economic, social, and moral crisis and the crisis in the LC itself influence the membership of the LCY? We must immediately warn that the data is not cheerful! The latest official figures in the LCY Central Committee are from the end of June 1988. However, they show a lot.

Under 2 Million

On the last day of June last year, the LCY had 2,022,487 members. The exodus of LC members, which began in 1984, continued in the first half of last year. In the first 6 months of last year, 14,203 members left the LCY of their own accord, 15,976 were crossed off the list, and 2,989 were expelled. There were 19,963 new members in the same period.

Statisticians in the LCY point out that the number of LC members grew until the end of 1983. The year 1983 will be remembered in the history of the Yugoslav Communist Party. At the end of that year, the LCY had 2,177,089 members. However, the ranks of the LCY began to diminish as early as the following year. Since then, this tendency has lasted 4 and 1/2 years. During this time, 154,602 members left the LCY. In 1986 alone, 44,641 members left the LCY.

The most worrying thing is that workers, individual direct producers in the countryside, and young people (under 27 years of age) are leaving the LCY in large numbers. At the end of 1983, 663,876 workers were in the LC; that is 30.5 percent of the membership. On the

last day of June 1988, their number stopped at 589,917. The proportion of workers amounted to 29.2 percent. The proportion of workers in the workers party fell by 1.3 percent. At this time, 73,959 direct producers left the LCY!

As early as 1981, the peasant party organizations warned that the role and influence of the LCY was weakening in their communities. In the first year of this decade, the proportion of agricultural workers in the LCY amounted to 4.3 percent of the membership. In 1981, there were 87,105 of them. The latest official figures (in the first 6 months of last year) show that their number has been reduced to 67,873. The number of agricultural workers with party membership cards has been reduced by 1 percent, and their proportion of the whole membership of the party this time amounted to 3.4 percent.

The number of young people in the LCY has also been continuously falling since 1980. In 1980, there were 675,484 young people. Their proportion of the entire membership amounted at that time to 33.1 percent. On the last day of June 1988, an astonishing figure "showed itself": There were only 366,398 young people in the LCY, or 18.1 percent! The number of young people in the LCY membership was reduced by exactly 15 percent. The fact that there are 309,086 less young people in the LC requires a detailed analysis, because the question should be answered as to why they have left the LCY and with what force can the LCY bank on in the future.

The Worrying "Tide"

Any new research warns of the exodus of the membership and the diminishing interest of workers, agricultural workers, and young people in the LC. As an illustration, the LCY received 193,759 new members in 1977 and even 199,446 in 1980, but from the next year on, the number of new party members became smaller and smaller.

So in 1981, 123,759 workers were admitted, 93,684 were admitted in 1982, 44,820 in 1987, and 19,963 in the first 6 months of last year. If all these indicators were maintained in the second half of last year, analysts in the federal party apparatus state that it could quite easily happen that the LCY will have fewer than 2 million members for the first time in 8 years. In 1980, in fact, the number of LCY members passed 2 million (2,041,272) for the first time. The following year there were 2,117,083; in 1982 there were 2,154,627, in 1983 there were 2,177,089, in 1984 there were 2,167,860; in 1985 there were 2,152,686; in 1986 there were 2,108,043; and in 1987 there were 2,052,212.

The series of unfavorable indicators on the movement of LCY members does not, however, stop here. For example, the number of women in the LCY has fallen for the third year. At the end of 1986, there were 571,284 women in the LCY, or 27.1, but by the middle of the next year, their number was reduced to 27 percent. In most

basic organizations and organs of the LCY, "the appropriate attention has not been devoted to this, nor has the statutory requirement that the LC admit primarily workers, young people, and other active and creative people been met."

What is concealed behind what we would call this normal phrase?

In 1986, for example, there were 69,028 basic LC organizations. In 49,201 organizations (71 percent of the total number), not one new party member was admitted in 1 year, "which is more than a worrying fact which deserves analysis and a political assessment." This assessment was written by the competent organs in the LCY, but whether they have done anything is another question. This officially pronounced assessment becomes even more pertinent when it is known that as many as 92.5 percent (!) of the entire number of basic organizations of the party "cell" in the LC of Slovenia did not try to recruit one new member in 1 year. Their number is also high in the LC of Montenegro—80.2 percent of LC basic organizations. In the LC of Croatia, 79.6 percent of basic organizations did not admit one new member in 1 year; in the LC of Serbia, 73.5 percent; in the LC of Bosnia-Herzegovina, 65.8 percent; in the LC of Macedonia 64.2 percent; and in the Kosovo LC, 61.6 percent.

Party organizations in the economy were also inactive, because in 1 year, 76.2 percent did not recruit one new member; outside the economy, 64.3 percent did not; in city local communities, 68.8 percent; at the universities, 68 percent of LC basic Organizations; and so on. Even 38.7 percent of basic organizations at universities and high schools throughout the country did not admit one new LC member in 2 years.

An Exact Party Barometer

At every step, there are facts which are worrying and which require answers. It is not difficult to discover the causes of such trends in the membership. The "tide" which has been present for a long time now is explained by the outbreak of the counterrevolution in Kosovo, the bureaucratization of the leadership, the nonimplementation of congress tasks, the division of society and party into classes, disrespect for basic and constitutional rights, the separation of the leadership from the grass roots, work in discussion forums, the economic crisis, and so on....

It was concluded at the 13th LCY Congress that the LC "must strive for the domination of the interests of producers, creators, and all those who share their historical destiny." However, the picture is different in practice. The expenses of an expensive state are growing, affairs are more numerous, and the acquisition of wealth without work is more evident. New parties are entering the system by either the front or the back door; it does not matter. All this confuses workers, but mostly they are

confused by the fact that the LCY has not taken prompt action and acted in line with the orientations of congresses. Of course, one cannot live off of resolutions or from conclusions which are copied every year, but are not implemented. And instead of the LC solving problems, there are frequent and increasingly long-lasting historical Central Committee sessions which are more well-known for confrontations and further federalization and divisions according to the national rota.

Nowadays as never before, the LCY has the historic task of consistently and quickly approaching reform, both in its own ranks and in society as a whole, because only in this way will it be able to remain the vanguard of society. It needs action, unity, and the consistent application of conclusions. Unity is also necessary in the LC itself. Everyone from the ordinary member to the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium knows this. Will this awareness be transformed into action?

Trends in Number of LC Members in the First Half of 1988

	Number of Members 1987
Total	2,052,212
Bosnia	-
Herzegovina [I]	392,576
Montenegro [II]	77,176
Croatia [III]	323,598
Macedonia [IV]	162,621
Slovenia [V]	116,374
Serbia—total [VI]	883,348
Serbia—proper [VII]	569,088
Kosovo [VIII]	106,172
Vojvodina [IX]	208,088
LCY in Army [X]	81,551
Basic Organizations in Federation [XI]	14,968

For First Half of 1988

	Admitted	Expelled	Left Volun- tarily	Crossed off List	Membership End June 1988
Total	19,963	2,989	14,203	15,976	2,022,487
[I]	3,964	649	2,011	3,204	388,685
[II]	967	26	208	257	76,152
[III]	1,946	550	3,439	2,659	317,935
[IV]	1,730	234	266	796	162,624
[V]	209	153	3,308	954	111,932
[VI]	7,821	1,317	4,754	8,034	872,330
[VII]	5,061	953	3,162	5,999	561,678
[VIII]	1,316	59	7	176	107,301
[IX]	1,444	305	1,585	1,859	203,351
[X]	3,315	56	193	42	77,878
[XI]	11	4	24	30	14,951

Markovic Says End to Crisis Not Soon Possible LD0602223689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Skopje, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—Millions of people should accept ideas concerning reforms and the new concept of self-managing socialism, and the existing politicization should be directed toward tackling the crisis, Ante

Markovic stressed in talks with Macedonian businessmen this afternoon. We must declare war on the crisis, a war with a new concept, under which new institutions and conditions would be built, which would then provide a basis for the creation of a new socialism which would bring greater wealth, greater rights, greater democracy, and greater freedoms for all of us together. It will not be simple, but even if there is a slight opportunity to do it, then all of us have a duty and an obligation to seize this opportunity in the interest of socialism, our whole society, nation, and nationalities. [passage omitted]

After listening to about 10 businessmen talk about the status of various branches of the economy in the republic, Ante Markovic summarized their talks as supporting the concept of the new self-managing socialist society. Right at the start, this concept pointed out the fact that deregulation and a decrease in norms are among the basic goals, Markovic said. He added that this means transferring rights and power from the state to institutions which, according to economic logic, belong to the market itself and to those taking part in the market.

At the same time, he warned businessmen to be prepared to do their part. Businessmen will receive autonomous rights to make decisions concerning the economy and development, but according to Markovic, this also means that they will take full responsibility for decisions. They must take great responsibility for development of their collectives and, likewise, for the development of the country, Markovic stressed. He went on to note that the new system cannot succeed if only a few people are leading it, if only they take the burden of responsibility, rights, and obligations.

Encouraged by what he heard in the talks about accepting the new concept, Markovic warned Macedonian businessmen that even if we do have modern technology, it is appropriate for a 40-50-year-old structure. We must change that structure by building a completely new one. This is our chance, because by merely changing the existing structures we would not raise the efficiency of society. We need a kind of economy which we do not have at all, Ante Markovic stressed. This is lucky for us, since with comparatively small investments and through programs which can be implemented quickly in the market, we can create a new structure which would contain all modern components and make up for our lagging behind.

Noting that the majority of businessmen demand to be allowed to work as they know and can, Markovic agreed with this completely, and stressed that they certainly know their business better than someone outside and above them. Businessmen should be allowed to take all responsibility for business organizations, Markovic stressed, and in connection with this warned businessmen not to wait until laws and regulations are finished. The Constitution provides sufficient basic rights for

enterprises to function and make room for further development, rights to organizational and all other changes; and those rights must not be questioned by anyone.

These things concern the internal organization of enterprises and relations of self-managing and other organs, as well. Within this, Markovic added, a wider perspective should be taken, especially in cases of mixed enterprises, which are going to be more and more numerous, so that step by step all enterprises will become mixed ones, using funds from abroad and from our people. We must ensure equal conditions for all of them, because we can have only one system, not several.

Ante Markovic advocated faster transformation of banks, which must be responsible. If not, they would be conservative institutions incapable of playing their role in the market. He especially looked at the question of trade and assessed that now it is reduced to the system of distribution. The market economy needs a modern model of trade.

Time is our great oponent, Markovic said at the end of talks in the Macedonian Chamber of Commerce. The long duration of the crisis exerts exceptionally great pressure, so that results are wished for "by tomorrow." The depth of our crisis shows clearly that results cannot be achieved tomorrow. "I tied duration of the term of office with the assessment that the real way out of the crisis cannot be achieved in less than 5 years," Markovic said. Much more developed countries than ours needed 10 years for this, and some manage in 5 to 6 years. A way out of the crisis—and this is what we want—cannot be achieved in a short time.

Markovic Meets With Trade Union Leaders
LD0702225489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1858 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The trade unions are trying to be an authentic organization and they will conduct a policy of maintaining a critical distance with regard to the FEC. However, this does not mean that the new government will not have support for a policy that will reward successful collectives, stressed Marjan Orozen, president of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation [YTUF] Council, in talks this evening between Ante Markovic, the FEC mandatory, and members of the YTUF Council Presidium.

At the beginning of the talks, Marjan Orozen expressed satisfaction at the fact that Ante Markovic's stances, as he has explained them hitherto, coincide to a large extent with thinking in the trade unions. With regard to the new economic policy, Orozen said, we expect that it will put an end to restrictions. Inflation must be halted, not by administrative means, but by economic ones.

Speaking about the trade unions' expectations of the new government, Orozen stressed, above all, that personal incomes must become the fundamental criterion for

engaging in economic activity and not merely an afterthought. The integrated market must imply recognition of the real price of labor. If, at this point in time, we are incapable of controlling inflation, then we request that personal incomes keep up with its growth.

Referring to the fact that social policy is an area of particular interest to the trade unions, Orozen repeated the trade union stance that the workers' organization is indeed for economic reform, but in a way that bears in mind the extent to which it is socially bearable. True social policy can be arrived at only on the basis of work, something that again highlights personal incomes. Since guaranteed personal incomes are guaranteed by the Constitution, funds must be found to pay them. They also must be found for compensation, Orozen stressed. [passage omitted]

The forthcoming reform of the whole of society must strengthen economize efficiency, on the one hand, and political democracy, on the other. For the major orientations of the reforms to be implemented, the broadest strata of the working class should be acquainted with their essence and aims and they should understand that the key to the solution lies in them. The existing politicization of the masses also should be directed toward implementing the reforms. The reforms also imply the opening up of processes of liberating initiative and facilitating the competition of ideas. Hence, the first step should be a deregulation that would "strip" the state of some of the functions of the market and of work organizations which, at present, it is performing on their behalf, Ante Markovic stressed, adding that the reforms should be set in motion with this.

Having noted that some of this evening's questions should be answered by the SFRY Assembly and the FEC, which is still in office—after all, there cannot be two captains on a ship—the FEC mandator recalled that we must construct a new concept of self-managing socialism with the motivated individual at the center.

The worker must become an entrepreneur so as not to become a wage laborer. To be sure, this is a lengthy process, but it must be opened up. Motivational factors should be central. Even now, Markovic believes, the critical mass of motivation is necessary, without which people cannot be set in motion to implement the reforms. This means that the state should not interfere in the distribution of personal incomes, but the indexing (equalizing) of earnings with inflation is not possible, either. The labor market, to which we aspire in the framework of the integrated market, would be destroyed in this way.

We are in a difficult situation and the risks are greater than the opportunities, but they do exist, and accompanied by the advocacy of everyone, these opportunities must be exploited in order to halt the negative trends. It is only after this that a positive turnabout can be expected, and this would be arrived at by a combination

of current economic and developmental policy. Appropriate economic solutions must be discovered to eliminate inflation because restrictions have not produced results.

The first elements of the market would "swing into action" after deregulation. This implies continuing the liberalization of prices and exports for the purpose of wiping out monopolistic behavior in the market, strengthening pressure for the levelling-off of domestic prices, and particularly the acceleration of growth in the social product. Development must be accelerated not by investments in capital-intensive projects, but in tens of thousands of small enterprises that would insure jobs for new people and for those who are laid off. After all, the market will, with time, make its selection and bring capable people to the surface, Markovic stressed. He noted that competent people should be supported. In any case, it is an illusion to take the strain off the economy without reform and a more rapid growth in production.

Markovic recalled that social policy must be part of developmental policy and that our society and economy in the future will be mixed (this state of affairs has long since existed in agriculture), since moves are being made toward mixed and private enterprises. In this, he also sees a new role for the trade unions, which cannot have one relationship with social enterprises and another with other enterprises.

Kucan Says Communism Pushed Into Isolation
LD0702212889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1834 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—Lack of readiness to cross the borderline which divides ideopolitical monopoly from pluralism with democracy is pushing the communist movement into isolation more than all its opponents, Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Central Committee Presidium, stated this evening at a formal session marking the 8 February Slovene Culture Day, and the birth of the great Slovene poet, France Presern.

According to Kucan, sociopolitical contradictions and contrasts, in whose lap the renewed project of socialism is being born and reaffirmed, can only be removed by democracy and political pluralism, and never by political monopoly and pseudo-monolithism, which causes continual tension, threats, psychosis, and emergency situations, and a fear of what could happen in society should the orientation become dominant in a Yugoslavia divided on a party basis, and which is inscribed in the awareness of our people as party dictatorship.

Dissident Djilas Foresees 'Collapse' of System
AU0402184389 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE
in German 3 Feb 89 pp 35-36

[Interview with Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas by Karl Gustav Stroehm: "There Will Be a Collapse"; date, place not given]

[Text] Stroehm: There have been reports that the appearance of Slobodan Milosevic on the political scene in

Belgrade could initiate Yugoslavia's collapse and in the long run lead to the creation of a greater Serbian state. Do you share this view?

Djilas: Serbia's position is not clear in this respect. There have been no public statements that could be interpreted in this way—that the Serbian leadership pursues this goal. It has always stressed its pro-Yugoslav standpoint, but emphasized different aspects from the Croats and Slovenes.

Stroehm: In what way?

Djilas: It talks about a "strong unified Yugoslavia." This sounds like it wants to curb the rights of the republics. This is not clear, however. The Serbian people are pro-Yugoslav. This can change, however, particularly if one bears in mind the fact that Serbia is in a state of certain excitement. It is dissatisfied with its national and especially its social and economic situation. The state press in Serbia, however, is anti-Yugoslav and separatist. It publishes lies about the Croats and Slovenes.

Stroehm: And on the other side?

Djilas: I do not want to say that the Croat and Slovene press behaves correctly toward the Serbs. However, we speak about Serbia, and here Belgrade's POLITIKA is spreading an atmosphere of hatred and intolerance, and even irrationalism. This has practically led to separatism. Thus, three elements are discernible in Serbia: the pro-Yugoslav attitude of the population, the declarations of the leadership which are also pro-Yugoslav, and the press, which is separatist.

Stroehm: What goals does the Serbian press pursue through this behavior?

Djilas: I am not sure at the moment. I think what it wants is to mobilize the Serbs outside Serbia, who live in other republics, such as Bosnia and Croatia. It is aiming at the mobilization of the Serbs.

Stroehm: Is there not a contradiction between Belgrade's claim that the Croats participated in the genocide of the Serbs during World War II and its call on the Croats to live in fraternity and harmony with the Serbs?

Djilas: There is no longer much talk about fraternity and harmony among the peoples of Yugoslavia. The press, however, is launching attacks on the Slovenes and Croats. The Croats are particularly confronted with the reproaches you mentioned. Nobody says explicitly that the Croats have committed genocide, but the polemics might create the impression among the Croats that the whole nation is being accused. This not only applies to the Ustasha movement, but also to the Catholic Church. It is being attacked massively in Serbia for allegedly collaborating with the Ustasha movement. No distinctions are made, and there is no mention of other tendencies within Croatian Catholicism.

Stroehm: What are the causes for the increased tensions between the Slovenes and Serbs? This is something new.

Djilas: Polemics against Slovenia are more pronounced today than against Croatia. Before the war, there were no real problems between the Slovenes and the Serbs. But now the situation has changed. A democratic process has been initiated in Ljubljana, against which the Serbian press has started a campaign of lies.

Stroehm: Can you cite a few examples?

Djilas: POLITIKA writes, for example, that Jozc Smole (a leading Slovene politician) has insulted the Serbian people. This is simply not true. Smole has spoken out against the Serbian leadership and not against the Serbian people. However, whereas democratic processes are declining in Serbia, the Slovenes are experiencing a kind of national and democratic revival—brought about by economic development. Slovenia has reached a level where further development is no longer possible on the basis of economic strategies that are typical of communist countries. In addition, the Slovenes have reached a level of intellectual differentiation that no longer allows one-sided or totalitarian developments. Therefore, it is only natural that the Slovenes see a danger approaching from Belgrade. This is all the more so because the view prevails in Slovenia that the Army is behind all that. The Army has a monolithic and party-oriented structure. The party is dissolving everywhere. It continues to exist only in the Army. A total of 99 percent of Army officers are party members.

Stroehm: The majority of whom are Serbs....

Djilas: The majority of the corps consists of Serbian officers. Therefore, it is a normal reaction on the part of the Slovene liberals to distrust them and to be afraid of Serbian hegemony.

Stroehm: Does this mean that the Army poses a certain threat?

Djilas: I do not think so. The Army, however, suspects that the Slovenes want to abandon both Yugoslavia and Titoism. As far as Tito is concerned, this is true. As far as a secession from Yugoslavia is concerned, this cannot be proved; the Slovenes only strive for greater internal independence.

Stroehm: Does the Army support Milosevic?

Djilas: With the arrival of Milosevic, the unity between the Army and the Serbian leadership was destroyed. The Army does not support leaderships of individual republics. This also applies to Serbia. An intervention in favor of any leadership, including the Serbian leadership, would lead to the collapse of Yugoslavia and to the collapse of the Army itself.

Stroehm: Do you still hold the view that Belgrade is the most liberal town in Yugoslavia?

Djilas: Many things have changed since I made this statement. Slovenia and Croatia are more liberal today than Serbia.

Stroehm: The West has an uncanny feeling about Milosevic because he succeeds in arousing irrational passions and in organizing demonstrations. What is your opinion?

Djilas: As a matter of fact, I assess these demonstrations positively. They break up old patterns. As far as Milosevic is concerned, he is relatively young, a fighter and agitator who has not produced any ideas of his own so far. If people believe he is a new Tito, they are having illusions. I do not know whether Milosevic himself wants to be a new Tito. Moreover, I consider statements claiming that he is aiming at some kind of fascism as pure nonsense.

Stroehm: How do you see the future?

Djilas: I think the current developments will lead to a collapse. Disorder and unrest will increase.

Stroehm: What kind of collapse would this be?

Djilas: I foresee a collapse of the system, if not a collapse of Yugoslavia. It can no longer be excluded. I have always been against it, but if the nationalist tendencies increase, the state may fall apart.

Stroehm: Do you mean through a civil war?

Djilas: There is no tendency toward violence. So far all demonstrations have been peaceful. However, clashes could become increasingly fierce, particularly in Kosovo. A small group of extremists might provoke incidents there.

Stroehm: What are your hopes for the future?

Djilas: Since I have abandoned the LCY, I am in favor of Yugoslavia moving closer toward Europe. I am convinced that the northern republics will establish closer ties with Europe, and Serbia can only be prevented from doing so by an authoritarian regime.

Stroehm: How do you assess the most recent LCY session?

Djilas: I am optimistic. Milosevic did not win sufficient support for his call for the resignation of the leadership. He was even driven into isolation. He was not even backed by the Macedonians.

Stroehm: What do you think of party leader Suvar?

Djilas: Until some time ago he was a dyed-in-the-wool supporter of Tito. Now he is in favor of market economy and against the monolithic structure of the party. The controversies, however, will continue.

Stroehm: And what about the threat of the Army toward the politicians, expressed by Admiral Simic?

Djilas: It was not really a threat, but a declaration of intent. There will be no intervention in domestic policy; the required preconditions do not exist.

SAWPY Reduces Membership; Changes Committees
LD0802181289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—The SAWPY Federal Conference today passed a decision providing for a considerable reduction in the number of its members and the members of the SAWPY Federal Presidium, and for rationalization in the work of its committees, sections, specialized conferences, and other forms of activities within it.

The number of members of the Federal Conference has been reduced from 243 to 125, and its Presidium from 34 to 30. In addition, the Presidium, as the executive-political organ, has also shed the changeable section of its members as well as the ex-office members.

With this step and its new procedure book, the Federal Conference has brought its method of organization and work in line with the changes to the SAWPY statute adopted last May. The decision on the composition and size of the membership of the Federal Conference and its Presidium will come into force with the SAWPY electoral conference, due to take place by the end of the year. [passage omitted]

Today the delegates were also informed about the changes in the agenda for the session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium on 28 February and of the Federal Conference on 1 March. The Presidium will consider the socioeconomic situation in the country, price rises, inflationary trends, and the decline in the standard of living. The following day the Federal Conference will discuss the political situation in the country. It is also expected to consider proposed candidates for the SFRY Presidency. [transmission interrupted; TANJUG part 3 not received]

The Federal Conference today decided to merge the coordinating committee for safeguarding and preserving Tito's name and work and the coordinating committee for marking important anniversaries and the history of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities. There were some isolated views against the merger, but the prevailing opinion was that Tito's work could not be separated from our revolutionary past.

Explaining the decision, Nenad Bucin said that: "The name and the work of the principal personality of the Yugoslav revolution should be studied as a part of our overall historical and political tradition and not as an issue outside all other political and historical trends and processes, as has been the case so far."

Preoccupied by its own reform and the ever-present topical issues concerning the front itself, the Socialist Alliance succeeded today, following several postponements, to include education on its agenda. This was not done with ease, and on two occasions today, the president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, Bozidar Colakovic, had to appeal to the delegates not to behave in the "grab your expenses and go" style.

An introductory report on the role of education and knowledge in implementing the reform of the economic and political system was presented by Neda Andric. [passage omitted]

Presidency Cited on Dizdarevic Foreign Visits
LD0802163589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1540 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 8 (TANJUG)—A Yugoslavia state Presidency [phrase as received] said today the recent talks with Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe in Belgrade showed the two countries held close stands and were mutually ready to cooperate in preparing the coming non-aligned summit in Belgrade.

State Presidency President Raif Dizdarevic's recent talks with Cyprus President George Vasilion in Nicosia were a useful exchange of opinions on (the place) and role of the non-aligned, the state Presidency said.

The Presidency said the two presidents' talks on promoting the movement's activities and methods of work in keeping to changes in the world were especially useful.

Dizdarevic's visit to Cyprus gave new motivation to overall cooperation, especially economic in the bilateral and international fields.

The state presidency said Dizdarevic's recent visit to Iraq was beneficial.

Dizdarevic's talks with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn created good conditions for further successfully developing economic-financial cooperation. Agreement was also reached on resolving some open questions in regard to Iraq's debts to Yugoslavia.

The presidency said the two presidents' exchange of views on topical questions in the Gulf region and Middle East and on promoting and developing the Movement of Non-Alignment were also beneficial.

New Alliance Calls for LC 'Legalization'

AU0202212189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
26 Jan 89 p 6

[S. Gajevic report: "Consciously Into the Underground"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 24 Jan—The Ljubljana newspaper DNEVNIK today published the program of the party that calls itself the "Academic Anarchist Anti-Federal Alliance." The introduction of the program of this party says that "on the basis of a careful investigation of the position of the state in which they are indeed forced to exist and to carry out their missions, the academic anarchists have come to an agreed conclusion that a party should be set up." The statement of the new party is written in a style which ranges from sarcasm to cynicism, and informs us that the party was founded on the first Friday 13th of this year. It adds that the duty toward its program was taken up "with unanimous approval."

The program of the party that has four letter A's in its title says in the first of a total of 13 points that the state is "simply superfluous" for academic anarchism, and that it expects and demands nothing from the state. It is then stated that academic anarchism is founded on a correct attitude toward language and its products, and adds the belief that in fact, "socialist self-managing speech is the main culprit for the social demolition that we are witnessing." It is said in the program of the "AAAA" party that this language is being reproduced even today, and "has negative effects in all aspects of the public life of this state, even as far as the current founding of all possible alliances and some semipolitical parties which do not perceive that such Pol Pot-like assumption of airs will only pull them backwards every time they try to create—in the name of God knows what kind of democratization—real political parties, as legitimate representatives of the programs which they support."

For academic anarchism, democratization is only one language-dependent figure of socialist self-managing speech which does not even deserve attention, let alone a careful analysis, this program says.

In the first point of this sarcastic and cynical program, the "AAAA" party proclaims itself an illegal party. This is explained in the following way: "The Academic Anarchists think that under the given circumstances, the sole legitimate party basis can only be illegal." It is then stated that the "AAAA" party is the second illegal party in this state, because the first one was the Communist Party, that is, the present LC.

Appearing from the "underground," the Academic Anarchists say that they feel honored that they have found themselves in the same position as "the hardened illegal LC, toughened in its long struggles." In the end, it is stated in the program, "under the given circumstances, we cannot look for a better society because, apart from

the 'AAAA' and the LC, there is no other party which would want or would dare to be illegal." The underground, like authority, requires the whole person, states the "AAAA" party, and it is added that from the underground, they can understand the total seriousness of the situation, even concerning the LC, "which has had to remain illegal for decades, and apart from everything else, has been presented with power in this state—power from which the LC wanted to step down, but from whose grip it has so far not been able to release itself." Explaining the present program of the LC, the program of the "AAAA" party says that "power will allow the party to step down from authority only if it becomes legal."

Thus, the party has determined as its first and most important aim the legalization of the LC, which would thus become a legitimate subject in the state, a legal political subject with all the rights and duties which belong to it as such. In their program, the Academic Anarchists say that "they will fight with all their strength and in every way for the realization of this aim, the legalization of the LC."

The role of the SAWP is also explained in the same fashion. In its program, the "AAAA" party says that it will never be a member of the SAWP. The reason: The illegal LC, which is at the same time in a position of authority, is protected by the existence of the SAWP. Therefore, the "AAAA" party announces that it will fight with all its strength for the SAWP to be reduced to an alliance of fan clubs, and then for it to be scrapped.

Once its two aims are achieved—the legalization of the LC and the scrapping of the SAWP—the members of the "AAAA" party say in their program that they will analyze the reasons for their further activity. If these reasons are not to their liking, the members of the "AAAA" party will vote for it to be disbanded.

Writers Welcome Presidency's Amnesty
AU2901205989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
26 Jan 89 p 5

[Statement of the Committee for Freedom of Expression: "Unequal Amnesty"]

[Text] The Committee for Freedom of Expression (consisting of Gojko Djogo, Dr Vladeta Jankovic, Dr Atanasije Jevtic, Radmila Lazic, Slobodan Rakitic, Dr Vladislava Ribnikar, Slobodan Selenic, Ljubomir Simonovic, Svetlana Slapsak, and Ljiljana Sop) issued a statement on the SFRY Presidency's decision to grant amnesty to 25 persons who were convicted on the basis of Article 133 of the Criminal Code. The committee sincerely supports this decision as a very important step in the right direction.

The public should, however, bear in mind the fact that the decision only applies to the persons who violated Paragraph 1 of the above mentioned article. In other words, as the statement points out, the amnesty does not

affect those who violated the remaining three paragraphs of Article 133, and those who violated Article 133 by violating some other criminal code (in our view there are more cases of this kind than other cases).

Although the SFRY Presidency's decision deserves praise and support as a contribution to a fuller realization of human rights and civil liberties in our society, the ultimate aim of democratic forces, and thus of the Yugoslav writers who discussed this issue at their congress in Novi Sad, has been and will remain not only the complete abolition of Article 133 of the Criminal Code, but also the abolition of all other provisions against the so-called verbal offenses.

'New Democratic Circle' Group Established
AU2901212889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
26 Jan 89 p 6

[R. B. report: "'New Democratic Circle' Founded"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 24 Jan—According to today's edition of DNEVNIK, a new "alternative movement" has been founded in Novi Sad. This movement intends to deal with sociopolitical issues, particularly with human rights, in every part of Yugoslavia.

This is the "New Democratic Circle," which was founded by eight intellectuals from Novi Sad: writer Laslo Vogel, music publicist Ilija Vrsajkov, architect Vojislav Devic, writer Dr Miroslav Egeric, lawyer Oliver Novakovic, Dr Dragoljub Petrovic, Dr Miodrag Radovic, and Dr Zarko Ruzic, professor at the Novi Sad Faculty of Philosophy. The aim of this democratic circle is to react publicly to threats to the political reform, which in their opinion, started with the meetings of solidarity and freedom in Novi Sad.

The "Democratic Circle's" first reaction was the appeal to the Bosnian Assembly regarding the "Mosevac case." The "Democratic Circle" appealed for this case to be resolved in a human and civilized manner, and for full light to be shed on the circumstances which caused the "Mosevac case" to disturb the Yugoslav public for years.

All eight members of the Novi Sad "Democratic Circle" were out of favor during the autonomists' era in Vojvodina. The first reaction indicates that the character of the "Circle" is similar to the committees for human rights which already exist in Belgrade, Ljubljana, and Sarajevo. In contrast to the one that exists in Ljubljana, which acts only within Slovenia, the Novi Sad "alternative movement" obviously wants to assume a Yugoslav character, because its first reaction is to events in other parts of the country.

Since we did not manage to get in touch with any of the members of this "alternative movement" during the day, we tried to get more detailed information from the City Conference of the Novi Sad SAWP. Dusan Sremac, coordinator of a working group which is presently acting

as the Presidium of the City Conference of the Novi Sad SAWP, told us the following: "I am not familiar with the initiative for or the founding of the 'Democratic Circle'. We have not received any information about this circle since I have been in this position."

Democratic Initiative Association Explained
*AU0202175189 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 89*

[Text] The political, cultural, and economic situation which Yugoslavia has been in for years is destroying all the achievements of its development and forcing a large number of its inhabitants into difficult living conditions. National social conflicts today and particularly in the future make joint life impossible, and the absence of a democratic setup prevents a possible transformation. This is one of the claims made at the meeting launching the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative in Zagreb.

In this situation, the basic reason for setting up the association is the fact that there is no political initiative in Yugoslavia today which could be both Yugoslav and democratic.

Here is a report by Dragan Stavljanin:

Yugoslavia today exists as a state which is not organized democratically. Its constitutional and legal system does not allow the establishment and activity of openness, which would express the existing variety of interests and ideas and which would, on the basis of their public confrontation, create prerequisites for reaching a general view which would suit the majority and would be applied under conditions that are acceptable to everyone. This is one of the basic stands in the manifesto of the association.

In the opinion of the association, Yugoslavia is a collection of republican national states, and its citizens have no opportunity whatsoever to make decisions. Because of all this, the association advocates the creation of Yugoslavia as a community of citizens and federal units. Therefore, the association wants to gather its membership not on the basis of place of birth, but according to an orientation toward a certain idea. As Zarko Pukovski said, the only condition for membership is that people be well-intentioned.

The association does not intend to become a political party, said Branko Horvat. In his opinion, a party fights for power, but this association is not interested in that. We are not a group of people with identical thoughts, but we want to ensure the articulation of a variety of ideas and the struggle of opinions. We are talking about a movement for the democratic transformation of Yugoslavia, stressed Branko Horvat.

The majority believe that this is perhaps the last chance for Yugoslavia to extricate itself from the crisis. There is a chance, because we are not starting from the beginning but, as Predrag Matvejevic said, we must begin in a new way.

Ckrebic Withdraws SFRY Presidency Candidacy
*LD0802150889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 8 Feb 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Dusan Ckrebic has withdrawn his candidacy as member of the SFRY Presidency, explaining his move by the need to provide young people in particular with the responsibility for the country's future.

In a letter addressed to Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference, Dusan Ckrebic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has asked to be removed from the list of candidates, but has also supported a positive orientation, whereby the young people who have affirmed themselves in Serbia's political life by their energy, constructive reasoning, and political maturity are proposed through a democratic procedure for the highest state functions.

Recalling that he has long occupied a number of functions, including the most responsible functions in the SR of Serbia, and lately in the Federation as well, Dusan Ckrebic stresses that the last 2 years of his term in the SFRY Presidency would overlap with his retirement age. "In my capacity as president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, I have advocated retirement at the point when all the conditions for it have been met, and now I believe it is my duty to abide by these principles," Dusan Ckrebic's concludes his letter, as he voices gratitude for the trust he is now enjoying and has enjoyed on earlier occasions.

Gracanin Passes Presidency Nomination
*LD0902021989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2337 GMT 8 Feb 89*

[Excerpt] Belgrade, February 8 (TANJUG)—Dusan Ckrebic, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee (LCY CC) Presidency, and Petar Gracanin, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Serbia, said they would not accept to be nominated by their republic to the Yugoslav state Presidency.

In their letters to the president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance, Bogdan Trifunovic, the two top Serbian officials said they thought that younger, more prominent nominees, already contained on Serbia's list, should be elected to the state presidency. Ckrebic is 62 and Gracanin is 65. [passage omitted]

Jovic Says Threat of Serbia Unwarranted
LD0802235389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2030 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Novi Pazar, February 8 (TANJUG)—Positive changes towards democratic resolving of the crisis are taking place in Yugoslavia despite non-principled conflicts which use fear of changes to mask concern for individual positions, said Serbian Parliament President Borisav Jovic at today's meeting with Novi Pazar officials.

It is no wonder that contradictory interests in Yugoslavia have resulted in conflicting opinions, Jovic said, stressing that this will nevertheless lead to the best—Yugoslav and acceptable to all—solution for overcoming the crisis.

Everyone must realize that a united Republic of Serbia—equal to the other republics and with full power over its autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo—which we urge, is not a threat but a precondition of Yugoslavia's unity, Jovic said.

He said that in questions of common interest, Serbia will promote its stands, but with full respect for (?differing opinions) and proposals, in view of common interests and Yugoslavia's synthesis.

Jovic said that (?there are differing views) on the implementation of reforms in Yugoslavia as well as on who is to take the blame for failure and mistakes, although (?democratic) socialism, self-management, federal system and non-alignment is stressed in all parts of the country.

He believes that victims of the reform are necessary and that they should be the bureaucracy, loss-making enterprises and all those whose positions are jeopardized by the reform.

Jovic stressed that those who advocate changes in words only have never been democratically elected but have elected themselves, without secret-ballots, and as sole candidates. [sentence as received] When the people demand changes, these officials call it a pogrom, wishing for a state of emergency in order to turn back the clock, Jovic said.

Milosevic Pays Visit to Kragujevac
AU0202164789 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] At the end of his visit to Kragujevac today, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, attended a festive session of the Workers Council of the Crvena Zastava Composite Organization of Associated Labor to mark the 38th anniversary of the formation of the First Workers Council, and was presented with a 2 February plaque.

Expressing his thanks for the highest award of the Kragujevac collective, which was also presented to Srbojub Vlasovic, director of the Yugo automobile plant and of the power supply associated labor organization, Slobodan Milosevic spoke about the need for cadre renewal as a positive change for the way out of the crisis.

[Begin Milosevic recording] All those people who proclaim their personal and bureaucratic interests as social, republican, provincial, and national interests should be changed. If we are disunited and badly organized at a Yugoslav level, we will be unable to implement one single program, no matter how good it may be.

I also think that there are no real bases for disunity. All citizens of Yugoslavia have some joint interests. These are, above all, the interest to live in peace and freedom and the interest to live better from the economic, social, and cultural point of view. All citizens of Yugoslavia, or at least the majority, could rally around these interests, not only because they are their joint interests, but because they are their most important interests.

Not one section of Yugoslavia has the possibility of living freely, dignified, and well outside Yugoslavia as it can within the borders of this country. Therefore, instead of attempts to outwit, find fault, and trick at meetings and in committees and newspapers, we should jointly mobilize reason, roll up our sleeves, and implement the reform which is essential to the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, Yugoslav citizens, and especially the Yugoslav workers class. [end recording]

Speaking about the past and future position of Serbia, Slobodan Milosevic stressed that the process of changes had begun here, and that the republic is on the threshold of being set up constitutionally, which would essentially change its status considering that it has so far had the status of a second-class republic.

[Begin Milosevic recording] There have also been great changes in the consciousness of the citizens of Serbia, who have for a long time, and really unjustifiably, borne the burden of the greatness and history of their republic. Serbia is a large republic, especially united in this way, but the size of its territory and the size of its population really does not threaten anybody and really does not endanger any part of our country. On the contrary, to the extent to which we will have a good economic and political situation in Serbia specifically because of its size, we will contribute to better conditions in all of Yugoslavia.

This principle also holds for every other republic and for every other community in Yugoslavia. Therefore, it seems regrettable today, although less and less dangerous, that petit bourgeois and anti-Yugoslav people, and in any case people who do not wish the country well, poison their communities inside and outside Yugoslavia with the alleged danger from Serbia.

Everyone knows in this country that Serbia, which has always been open and ready to offer a hand, support, and aid to everyone, does not endanger anybody who respects peoples and nations. The only thing that has changed in Serbia is the firm resolution not to allow any discrimination, any humiliation, and any second-class status. In its own case, Serbia will adhere to this principle decisively and energetically. [end recording]

The festive session of the Workers Council of the Crvena Zastava Composite Organization of Associated Labor to mark 2 February as the day of the formation of the first highest self-managing organ in this collective, about which Mihajlo Nikolic, president of the plant's trade union organization, spoke, was also attended by Borisav Jovic, president of the Serbian Assembly, and Tomislav Milenkovic, president of the Serbian Trade Union Council, among others.

Vojvodina LC Presidium Relieves Petar Matic
LD0802211889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1622 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—At today's session the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium adopted a program of immediate tasks to enable Vojvodina's Communists to reform the economic system, and stressed that this extremely important economic and sociopolitical task must engage not only the party organizations in 50 Vojvodina municipalities, but must also engage more than 200,000 Vojvodina Communists. At the moment, this is a prime task which should facilitate emergence from the present economic crisis, a revival of economic activity and resolution of our social problems.

Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, cautioned that the habit of waiting for someone else to offer solutions and to provide us with "commands" to direct implementation of the economic reform and management of the economy must be resolutely abandoned. We should stop this practice and stimulate all our forces to enable work collectives to decisively influence business policies, including all the risks, to stop waiting for someone else who will settle the situation in one or another collective.

In all this activity, we cannot afford the disintegration of the big and stable systems which we have been building over the years, and which have contributed greatly to progress in the Yugoslav economy. A theory which would tear these systems apart and scale down the size of economic entities must not, therefore, be incorporated in the Law on Enterprises.

Sipovac added that a clear line must be drawn between issues of competence, that is, to decide on the extent of competences, in the first stage of implementing the Law on Enterprises, which would be assigned to the state; that is, to what extent the work collectives can be allowed to

manage business policy. This primarily refers to Vojvodina's economic mainstays—food production, chemicals, and some other sectors, since it is precisely these sectors in which there was too much red tape, which was causing losses in Vojvodina's economy.

In the envisaged program, Sipovac continued, a prominent place will be given to the long-term cooperation programs between the big systems and complexes of Vojvodina and those within the territory of the Serbian Socialist Republic. [passage omitted]

The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee (PC) Presidium requested that at the 21st LCY Central Committee session, in keeping with Article 64 of the LCY Statute, Petar Matic be relieved of his duties as a member of the LCY Central Committee, because by his action he has destroyed unity in the LCY. It was said that he does not enjoy the confidence of the people and Communists of Vojvodina, and that he can no longer stay in this post.

The Presidium also invoked the conclusions of the Vojvodina LC Extraordinary Conference, which envisaged that 9 of the 14 LCY Central Committee members from the Vojvodina LC would be relieved of their duties at the 20th LCY Central Committee session. At this party meeting, eight new members of the LCY Central Committee were elected—only Petar Matic failed to resign, and as a result the request has been made that he be relieved of his duties. The Presidium, respecting the democratic principles on the existence of several candidates, established the proposal that Rajko Popovic from Kikinda and Svetozar Krstic from Odzak be proposed as the new LCY Central Committee member from the Vojvodina LC. Consultations on this will take place in all 50 municipal organizations of the Vojvodina LC.

The Vojvodina LC PC Presidium proposed that, in addition to the established candidate for membership of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, Dr Stanko Radmilovic, the proposal be approved for a further candidate, and that it be Sinisa Batalo from Pancevo. This is the second candidate for this highest party office, allocated to the Vojvodina LC in the LCY. It is recalled that the previous other candidate for membership of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from the Vojvodina LC, Djordje Scepanec, failed to obtain a sufficient number of votes at the 20th LCY Central Committee session, and it is for this reason that Sinisa Batalo is now being proposed.

The Vojvodina LC PC Presidium accepted the proposed candidate for membership of the LCY Central Committee from the Montenegrin LC.

It was decided that a meeting of the Vojvodina LC PC will be held on 13 February, at which the program of tasks for Vojvodina Communists in implementing reform of the economic system will be established, and at

which it will also be established how the conclusions of the Vojvodina LC Extraordinary Conference and preparations for holding an LCY Extraordinary Congress are being implemented.

Municipal Presidium President Found Hanged
*LD0602211289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 6 Feb 89*

[Text] Novi Sad, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—Milan Malocic, Novi Sad's higher court investigating judge, announced today that Miladin Visekruna, president of the Vojvodina LC Municipal Committee of Petrovaradin Presidium, was found hanged this morning in the offices of the Vojvodina LC Municipal Committee of Petrovaradin.

A team of the City Secretariat for Internal Affairs assisted the investigating judge in the inspection. All the circumstances, as Judge Malocic stressed, have not yet been made fully clear. He emphasized that it is highly likely that this was a suicide. The investigation into the causes of the tragic death of Miladin Visekruna is under way.

New Members of Kosovo LC Presidium Elected
*AU0902083389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
28-29 Jan 89 p 12*

[M. Antic, D. Bisenic, and R. Barjaktarevic report: "Pirouetting Out of an Impasse"]

[Text] Pristina, 27 Jan—Today's session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, which was supposed to discuss the so-called cadre knot, found itself in an impasse right at the beginning. First of all, the session did not start at the scheduled time, 0900 [0800 GMT], because there was a half-hour consultation with the presidents of the communal LC committees (the reason was not given). After that, there was a power failure in the Kosovo Assembly building. Apparently a generator burned out in the transformer station which supplies the building with power. The session opened at 1000. [passage omitted]

Five New Members of the Presidium Elected

In order to fill five vacant places in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, a secret ballot was held in which 74 members of the Provincial Committee took part. The following were elected by a majority vote: Rahman Morina (68), Tomislav Sekulic (52), Baskim Hisari (70), Djordje Bozovic (66), and Ilijaz Ramajli (72). [passage omitted]

Kosovo Committees To Take Initiative
*LD0802150589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 8 Feb 89*

[Text] Pristina, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—In Kosovo today there are fewer informal meetings of workers of Albanian descent, although there are attempts to hold them and

schedule new ones. Instead of this, the provincial and municipal LC committees today embarked on a broad political action to undertake the initiative at party meetings and discuss the political situation which has arisen with the latest gatherings.

Many provincial and municipal political activists and leaders at these meetings point to the highly damaging nature and consequences of such gatherings and resistance to the changes which are underway. There are calls for specific decisions on the stances and conclusions of the top party organs and on yesterday's statement by the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, which stated decisively that their implementation will not be abandoned.

Kosovo Presidency Discusses Protests, Situation
*AU0802171789 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 89*

[Text] We have just received a report from Pristina: The Presidency of Kosovo has examined the situation in the province that has arisen with the protest gatherings of ethnic Albanian workers. Milisav Milic reports:

Several official political gatherings, as well as protest meetings of ethnic Albanian workers were heard in Kosovo again today. The official gatherings support the new Kosovo Party leaderships and insist on a consistent implementation of the decisions of the 17th and 20th LCY Central Committee sessions.

The protest meetings of ethnic Albanian workers express the well-known theses that the changes in Serbia's Constitution will infringe on the rights of the ethnic Albanians. They also express disagreement with the decisions of the 20th LCY Central Committee session.

The Kosovo Presidency today appealed to the workers of the province to return to their daily tasks and to concentrate their attention on increasing production and income, and raising their standard of living. The Kosovo Presidency also believes that it is necessary that energetic legal and other measures be taken against those that endanger social property.

Kadijevic Visits Army Units in Kosovo
*AU0302154689 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Feb 89*

[Text] Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, today visited the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo with some of his colleagues. He had talks with representatives of this province, who were headed by Remzi Koljgeci, president of the Kosovo Presidency; and Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. The federal secretary for national defense also visited some of the units and commands in the Pristina garrison with his colleagues.

In talks with the political leadership of Kosovo, most attention was paid to the political and security situation in the province, the state of combat readiness, the construction and development of territorial defense, and current sociopolitical and economic issues after the 20th session of the LCY Central Committee.

Remzi Koljgeci and Rahman Morina briefed the federal secretary for national defense on the political and security situation in Kosovo, stressing that it is very complex and is continuing to deteriorate. This, together with the difficult economic situation, has an effect on the combat readiness of the province, and influences the security of the country as a whole.

It was emphasized that all essential measures must be taken to stabilize the situation in the province as soon as possible, and especially to wipe out the activities of Albanian nationalism and separatism and other nationalisms; to overcome the obvious gulf in interethnic relations; to restore interethnic trust; and create a united front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, Romanies, and others.

The necessity of more decisive and organized work in implementing the conclusions of the first conference and of the 9th, 16th, and 17th, as well as of the 20th session held yesterday, was also expressed. It was also assessed that the key tasks of these sessions have so far not been implemented, particularly because of disunity, opportunism, and the lack of readiness of some Communists to carry out their duties consciously and responsibly.

Veljko Kadijevic briefed the political leadership of Kosovo on the assessments of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense concerning the current situation in the country, pointing out the possibilities for overcoming the present crisis. Kadijevic particularly stressed that Army members in Kosovo fully contribute to the consolidation of the political security situation in our province and will do so in the future.

During talks, it was stated that through their conduct and activity, the commands and units of the Yugoslav People's Army had had a stabilizing effect on Kosovo in all respects. Their presence in this region has great political and economic significance, among other things. In this connection, the need was stressed for Army members to continue to contribute to initiatives for expanding the front of cooperation with young people, working people and citizens, associated labor organizations, representatives of sociopolitical communities and organizations, and other entities in this region. However, the present situation demands that the types and aspects of cooperation be enriched, spread, and developed into joint action for the stabilization of conditions in Kosovo. In this respect, greater initiatives are needed from the appropriate organs and organizations in Kosovo.

While touring the commands and units of the Pristina garrison, the federal secretary for national defense highly assessed their combat training and moral and political state.

During the day, General Kadijevic also visited the provincial territorial defense staff, where he was briefed on the results of the work on constructing units and staffs. On this occasion, Kadijevic assessed the achieved results and pointed out the main directions and tasks in the further development and building of territorial defense in Kosovo.

Outsiders 'Fomenting' Trouble in Struga
*LD2901222589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1513 GMT 29 Jan 89*

[Excerpt] Struga, 29 Jan (TANJUG)—The constant activities by the Albanian nationalists and separatists in this multinational environment, the fresh flaring up of the "Vevcani case," and the efforts of the former political leadership of the municipality to reestablish their lost positions—these are the three main trouble spots which are contributing to the deterioration in the political and security situation in Struga Municipality. This assessment was made by an expanded session of the Struga LC Municipal Committee today.

In the newly emerged situation, the Albanian nationalists and separatists have retreated even farther into the background, and, in a new development, are now about to make "pacts" with individuals and groups of all hues, regardless of nationality, who are working to destabilize the situation. Accordingly, Struga Municipality has not been spared the presence of various emissaries and their destructive ambitions. In the committee's opinion, these emissaries, who are not exclusively of Albanian nationality, are fomenting the "Vevcani case," which between 23 and 24 January escalated into a protest meeting in Struga of the people of Vevcani, which led to the swift worsening in the political and security situation in Vevcani, Oktisi, and Struga. [passage omitted]

Croatian Assembly Chambers Convene in Zagreb

Growth of Nationalism Condemned
*LD0702163489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 7 Feb 89*

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The implementation of reforms and the strengthening of self-managing socialist democracy must be the focal point of all our orientations, Croatian Presidency President Ivo Latin stressed today at a joint session of all three chambers of the Assembly of the SR of Croatia devoted to the current situation and sociopolitical events in the country. [passage omitted]

Speaking about many negative phenomena, Latin particularly condemned the various pressures emanating from national political programs and the growth of nationalism. He assessed as especially dangerous the old and new attempts to destabilize intranational relations in Croatia by spreading lies and false accusations, "and despite all the unfavorable effects of the divisions and trends toward national homogenization, these attempts are unfortunately continuing to escalate, Latin assessed. [passage omitted]

The current situation and sociopolitical and economic events in the country prompted delegates to take the floor of the assembly. In the first 2 hours of the session more than 10 delegates spoke. The topic of this meeting is all the more attractive when it is known that this is, it was said, the first time that a republican assembly has discussed important national political events. [Passage omitted]

Appeal for Unity Made

LD0702201589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—Rather than being entertained by idle politics and the past, let us direct our energies toward the stabilization of the economic and political conditions, and toward the future. Let us unite all the country's forces so as to implement the reforms and preserve the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]-based, Tito's Yugoslavia as the fundamental prerequisites for emerging from the crisis.

Appeals of this kind were voiced today in the course of today's SR of Croatia Assembly session during discussion of the current situation and sociopolitical events in Yugoslavia. According to many views the situation has deteriorated in the political, economic and social spheres. It is therefore necessary to enforce the rights and responsibility of the Assembly and delegates' assemblies for the development of individual republics and provinces, and for the country as a whole. The participants in the discussion called for more sobriety, practical wisdom, tolerance, and more profound togetherness.

The stands of the SR of Croatia Assembly, based on the discussion and an introductory speech by Ivo Latin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia, will be prepared by a special working group for the next Croat Assembly session scheduled for 23 February.

Vehicle Enterprise Workers End 3-Day Sit-In

LD0802165289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1247 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—After a 3-day constant sit-in, today at about noon, the workers' council of the special vehicle factory, which is part of Sarajevo-based Famos, ended this protest because they were informed that tomorrow they will obtain a final decision on whether

there is agreement—after efforts by workers which have lasted 3 years—on the appointment of engineer Svetko Jeremic as director of this work organization.

The protest sit-in was ended in the hope that a positive reply will be forthcoming. As is well known, the signatories of the social compact in the republic also expressed a positive opinion concerning Svetko Jeremic, but the Famos management, who wanted to impose their own candidates on the workers, have constantly opposed his election.

Cetinje Candidate Rejects Presidency Bid

LD0702182989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1614 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Summary] Cetinje, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—Jovan Markus, the president of the Cetinje Municipal Assembly, today revealed that he demanded to be removed from a list of candidates for the SFRY Presidency because he does not want to have anything to do with those responsible for the Serbian and Montenegrin agony in Kosovo.

Delegation from Uzbekistan Pays Visit

Arrives in Skopje

LD0602205189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Skopje, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—This afternoon a delegation from the Uzbek SSR arrived on a 4-day visit to the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, led by Rafik Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee.

The members of the delegation were met and greeted at Skopje airport by Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Presidium of the Macedonian LC Central Committee.

The guests from Uzbekistan are staying in Macedonia at the invitation of the Macedonian LC Central Committee.

Meets Macedonian Party Leader

LD0702200989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 7 Feb 89

[Text] Skopje, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Macedonia LC Central Committee Presidium, today in Skopje received a delegation from the Uzbek SSR, headed by First Secretary Rafik Nishanov. The Soviet guests are visiting Macedonia for a few days at the invitation of the Macedonia LC Central Committee.

President Lazaroski acquainted the delegation members with the current issues of sociopolitical and economic development of the SR of Macedonia. Lazaroski spoke about Yugoslav views on the topical issues in the world's communist and workers movements regarding the struggle for peace, progress, and the consolidation of the process of mutual trust and cooperation.

President Lazaroski told the guests from Uzbekistan that "perestroyka" in the Soviet Union and democratic developments in other socialist countries attract a great deal of attention in Yugoslavia and have a wider impact on the world socialist process. He spoke about Yugoslavia's non-aligned policy and stressed the significance of the forthcoming Ninth Nonaligned Summit, which will take place in Belgrade this September. Lazaroski underlined the significance of goodneighborly relations and the free development of national minorities in the processes of rapprochement and connections between nations.

Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, told his hosts about current issues in the Uzbek Communist Party, particularly stressing the changes resulting from "perestroyka." He spoke of a new role for the party and other problems in the development of Uzbekistan and the Soviet Union. The delegation members showed a great deal of interest in the LCY's experience and its democratic transformation.

During the talks, continuity of relations and international cooperation between the Macedonian LC and the Uzbek Communist Party, and between the UZBEK SSR and the SR of Macedonia in all areas of mutual interest, were discussed.

This morning the delegation members visited the Tito metal plant and the Goce Delcev tannery.

Cooperation between the economic organizations in the SR of Macedonia and the USSR was assessed positively during the talks.

Cooperation Agreement Signed

LD0802214989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1852 GMT 8 Feb 89

[Text] Skopje, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Jezdimir Bogdanski, president of the Macedonian Presidency, and Dr Vulnet Starova, president of the Macedonian Assembly, had separate meetings in Skopje today with the delegation of the Uzbek SSR, led by Rafik Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek CPSU Central Committee.

Both sides noted successful development in relations between Macedonia and the Soviet Union and Uzbekistan within this framework. A need was stressed for establishing direct economic contacts between the two republics in various fields, as well as for promoting the exchange of commodities. A cooperation program through the year 1990 was signed at the end of the talks.

The visitors from the Soviet Union also toured the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Skopje radio and television station.

Low Personal Incomes Main Reason for Strikes
AU3101084689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
25 Jan 89 p 7

[F. Nikocevic report: "This Year—100 Reasons"]

[Excerpt] It took our society, work organizations, and trade unions a long time before they started calling "extended meetings" and "work stoppages" by their real name: strikes, and before they recognized and registered all strikes that were previously regarded as "strictly confidential" information. At the same time, the number of strikes started to rapidly grow, from 13 in 1978 to 307 last year. In the same period, the number of direct participants grew from 652 to 84,215. Some 3 million work hours have been lost. This was probably the main reason for facing the truth and recognizing inexorable reality without distorting it.

According to the data of the Bosnian trade union organization, which will be discussed at the next session of the Presidium of the republican trade union organization, the first and the most frequent reason for the workers' dissatisfaction in this republic is their personal income (last year real personal incomes fell by 8.9 percent, while the cost of living rose by 199.6 percent). According to this data, there are some 600,000 citizens of this republic who are living at the poverty line.

Last year, 149 strikes were caused by low personal incomes, 72 by reduced personal incomes, and 37 by delays in paying out personal incomes. Dissatisfaction also occurred because the self-managing acts on the distribution of personal incomes had not been respected, because the workers felt that they were not sufficiently informed, because of demands for the already forgotten 13th salary per year, and unprincipled cadre policy....

The greatest number of strikes took place in the production sector (51), education (46), the transportation sector (23), and so forth. [passage omitted]

'Political Recidivism' Should Not Become Factor
AU0202091589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
24 Jan 89 p 2

[Slavko Curuvija commentary: "Prophets Without Borders"]

[Text] When a young man, new in politics but very ambitious, assumes the airs of conceited righteousness and—as Zoran Cicak did in the Information Section of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference—informs a meeting or the public about a political "discovery," more mature analysts most often ignore it. That happens even when the discovery sounds like a "prophecy" of the following kind: "When bureaucratic governments fall, then their epigones in the media also fall. This has been confirmed in the cases of Novi Sad and Titograd, and will certainly be confirmed in Zagreb and Ljubljana, as

well." The best that could happen is that a short commentary appears in a newspaper with a question: Where has this young man found such political courage to say that this "will certainly be confirmed in Zagreb and Ljubljana"? This will happen not because one wants to attach significance to the author of this political nonsense, but because it was voiced in a respectable institution of the system.

However, only a few days after the promotion of such a stance, some other very similar thoughts were publicly launched.

Dealing with Stipe Suvár's political personality, Blazo Perovic (of Belgrade) begins a question in Belgrade POLITIKA as follows: "Do the revolutionary (historical) events that have occurred and that are to come in Vojvodina, Montenegro, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia ... confirm my (and general popular) suspicions of..." The remainder of the question is not even important, but it is an essential fact that the author of this rather voluminous article has succeeded in publishing the assertion that "revolutionary events... are to come in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia..." and judging by the three dots after Slovenia, in other republics, too.

At the extraordinary conference of the LC of Vojvodina last week, delegate Rade Adzibaba spoke about the "lectures" that "Joze Smole was delivering in Belgrade" but "not in Slovenia" which "is marching to a multiparty system" and said: "The working people and the workers class of Slovenia do not think the way Smole thinks, and therefore he will have to go." Several of those taking part in this party debate advocated positions that could perhaps be best expressed with the words: "We have the right to request that what we have done in Vojvodina for the unity of Serbia and for the unity in Yugoslavia should also be done in Kosovo and in every other part of the country."

It is evident that in a part of our political scene, a position has been appearing with increased frequency, according to which, for instance, the latest events in Titograd are a sign that "the antibureaucratic revolution that has marked 1988 has been successfully carried over into 1989" and the same "is in store for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia..." Although it is a matter of individual views, even they can be a sufficient reason for quite seriously asking: What is all this about? Is it a case of pretentious lack of information, errors in observation and conclusions, or simply political "tricks" by some individuals that happened to have occurred in a single week? Perhaps some people, like Cicak and Perovic, think according to the well-known clichés of the—we hope—pre-socialist past: that only one model of

socialism and only one road to socialism are possible, only one type of antibureaucratic processes, and that a completely identical logic and recipe are applicable to all our communities.

The crisis is indeed so deep that one should not be particularly surprised at the fact that individuals imbued with a messianic spirit appear who think that they know "eternal principles" and possess universal remedies; who want to make others happy even when these others do not want it or do not ask for it; who are happy only if others think the same way they do. However, the problem arises when others begin to recoil from the aid that is offered to them and from the moves that are recommended to them; when they begin to feel that this aid and these moves make them politically immature and incompetent, and free them from the obligation to think on their own and from the right to decide themselves on matters that do not concern others. This is probably the reason why some Croatian veteran organizations have already seen in these futurist ambitions of named and unnamed individuals a peculiar "scenario" for the destabilization of the country and the creation of an emergency situation....

What is at stake is a poor and false messianism, in fact political recidivism, which should be taken into account chiefly as a case of political pathology, which should not be allowed to become a political factor and a "cheerleader" in social processes.

No policy may "choose" how it will be interpreted and who will espouse it and act as an interpreter. In principle, it therefore cannot be responsible for the aggressive quasimessianic recidivism of some of its interpreters. However, there are exceptions to this "rule." There exist situations when a policy course must, in some respects, more or less dissociate itself from some interpreters and some interpretations, particularly when the danger exists that such interpretations and interpreters will begin to cause wide confusion and suspicions. It would therefore be good if the interpretations by Cicak and Petrovic would officially be placed where they belong in the coming days.

New English-Language Monthly on Sale
LD3001201889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1831 GMT 30 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 30 (TANJUG)—As of today, a new English-language monthly, YUGOSLAV LIFE, will be on sale at Belgrade news-stands.

Together with the Russian-language edition, YUGOSLAV LIFE is printed in 15,000 copies and features current information about events in Yugoslavia.

YUGOSLAV LIFE is published by the Yugoslav news agency, TANJUG.